JESUS AND THE PHARISEES

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DONALD W. RIDDLE

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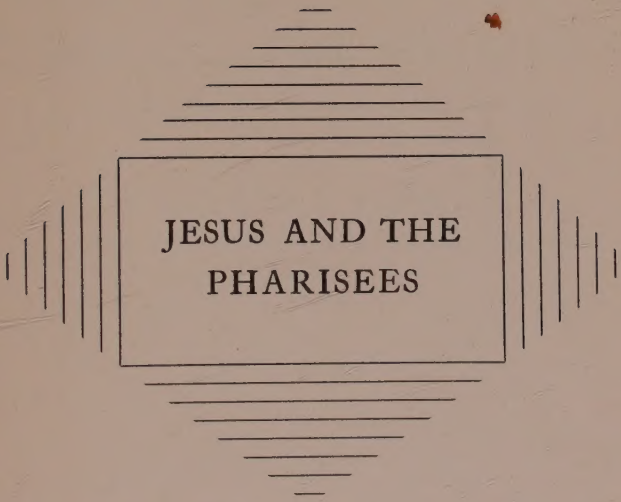
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JESUS AND THE PHARISEES

A Study in Christian Tradition

By

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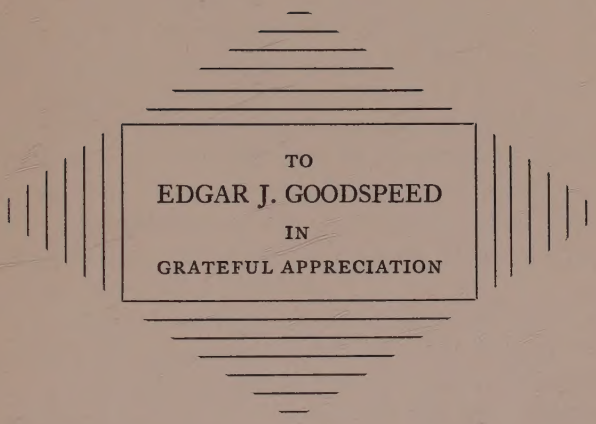
TO
EDGAR J. GOODSPEED
IN
GRATEFUL APPRECIATION

PREFACE

IT IS hoped that the following study may be useful in three fields: First, it supplements the existing literature on the Pharisees, in which Christian sources are slightly utilized, by placing beside the thoroughly adequate studies based upon the Jewish sources the data of the Christian traditions. Second, the development of the social-historical method needs several monographs upon certain subjects. This is one such, which, with others which should be produced, may serve as undergirding for a distinctly new study of early Christianity and of the life of Jesus. Finally, an important, though incidental, purpose, is its contribution to the correction of an injustice.

The materials of Part II, "Prolegomena," have been introduced with considerable hesitation. It is recognized that such a statistical study merely takes the place of first-hand inspection of the sources. Yet it is felt that it is of such importance that the Christian sources be compared with each other that the risk of dulness has been assumed.

This occasion is taken to express the author's thanks to Dean Shailer Mathews and to the Publications Committee of the Divinity School, of the University of Chicago; to Professor E. J. Goodspeed and Professor S. J. Case, of the University of Chicago; to President F. C. Eiselen and Professor E. W. Burch, of Garrett Biblical Institute; to Professor Frank J. Balzer, of Carlton College; and to Messrs. F. W. Gingrich and A. D. Beittel, of the University of Chicago.

DONALD W. RIDDLE

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PART I

PROLEGOMENA: THE TRADITIONS

I

A PERSISTENT PROBLEM

IT HAS been generally assumed that the portrayal of the Pharisees in the New Testament, particularly in the Gospels, is consistent, sufficient, and trustworthy. Doubtless this assumption is the cause of the usually held attitude toward them, for the Pharisees have been disliked by nearly all Christian groups. It has been taken for granted that the dislike so common today was current among the early Christians; hence the assumption that the Gospel portrayal is the same as that which is now common. Thus "Pharisee" has become a word which starts a whole train of ideas, often of wrong ideas. The view is usual that the Pharisees as a class were chief among Jesus' enemies, that they opposed him at every turn in his teaching, and that they instigated and caused his death. In common judgment Pharisee is synonymous with hypocrite; the Pharisees were representative of the least pleasing features of Judaism, and were responsible for its decline.

Yet if not the Pharisees, at least their descendants have ever been present, so that Christian apologists have had to explain, since through the Pharisees medieval and modern Judaism survived the break-up of the Jewish state, how so decadent a movement was the parent of so vigorous a child. Among contemporary Jews there have been many exceptions to the common evaluation of the group. Among those who

searched rabbinical lore to substantiate some charge against the Pharisees there was occasionally a Lightfoot who could admit that he had searched in vain.

More recently there has developed a concerted movement toward the rehabilitation of the Pharisees. On the one hand Jewish scholarship has ably drawn upon its own resources and has conclusively shown that the common view is inadequate. Coincidentally with recent Jewish work a small number of Christian scholars have addressed themselves to the task of understanding Pharisaism and its representatives. Thus, while there has always been the commonly held opinion, the problem has been persistent. It is not to be thought that the questioning of the usual judgment is more than a minority opinion, for most studies of the Pharisees exhibit naïve ignorance of the sources and violent prejudice.

In this respect one of the most disappointing features is the work done upon the life of Jesus. It might have been expected that recent improvement in historical method should result in the reopening of the problem of Jesus and the Pharisees, but little of significance has been achieved. Perhaps in the shift of emphasis from source analysis to social history greater familiarity with Jewish life may have some effect. Nevertheless the classical view of Schürer so dominates still that in many biographies of Jesus the Pharisees are merely a dark background against which the bright light of Jesus stands in contrast.

Still another field may be cited, relevant because of its present popularity. In the teaching materials of religious education is one of the most unfortunate aspects of the whole matter. The current surge of race prejudice is a deplorable aspect of contemporary civilization. How amazing that contributing to this attitude, in curricula of large numbers of church schools, is a picture of the Pharisees and of Judaism

which cannot survive the beginnings of scientific investigation. This is true, not only in general, but of curricula which enjoy the prestige of compilation according to advanced educational methods.

It is evident that the problem persists. Perhaps the effort which is at present most desirable is the application of new methodology to the sources, for it is indubitable that the confusion which has produced the commonly held assumption will thus be clarified. There is a difficulty here; not only is a linguistic equipment necessary, but also a sympathy which is unfortunately rare. Happily, such difficulties are gradually being met. Universities are establishing chairs in rabbinical learning, and many more examples of approach at once learned and sympathetic may be cited than was not long since the case. Certainly it were a sufficiently modest requirement for the student to take a harmony of the Gospels, in translation if necessary, to see that the usual assumption is incorrect.

For example, it is alleged in one of the Gospels that it was the Pharisees who ascribed Jesus' power of exorcising demons to Beelzebul. Another states that this was said by certain scribes who came down from Jerusalem; and a third does not imply that it was said by either scribes or Pharisees, but reports it as said by some of the multitudes (Matt. 9:34, 12:24, Mark 3:22, Luke 11:14). Clearly in so far as this incident contributes to the generally held estimate of the Pharisees, it rests upon an ambiguous identification. Whether the one source or another is accurate is a question requiring careful discrimination. What is obvious is that here the sources do not present a consistent picture.

A merely cursory acquaintance with the data will show that such discrimination is seldom made. The attitude which usually controls is that which may be called harmonistic; all sources may have been read, but one dominates to the eclipse

of the others. That which is likely to be decisive is the Gospel according to Matthew. It is not alone in textual phenomena that there has been harmonization to the First Gospel.

To what extent does this obtain? It is remarkable that in the great amount of work done upon Christian literature no thorough study has been made with this interest in mind. Of the most valuable work accomplished in the task of writing anew the history of the Pharisees the bulk has been based upon the study of the Jewish sources. This is quite proper, since these are primary. But a thorough investigation of the Christian sources in which data may be found is desirable. What is needed is an application of method which will not merely evaluate the Christian traditions, but which will account for their development of their particular points of view.

As shall appear, the difficulty emerges at this point. It is easy to demonstrate that the sources contain confused traditions of Jesus and the Pharisees. The crux of the problem is how they assumed the form which examination discloses. The answer may be discovered by the social-historical study of the evolution of the traditions, by which method the traditions may be related to the situations which brought them forth. The question of the traditions of Jesus and the Pharisees has the advantage of relative simplicity in method, since the development may be observed in several stages in which the testimony of the sources may be controlled.

The study may be prosecuted by beginning with the Markan materials, by observing the Matthean and Lukan use of these data, by studying the traditions common to Matthew and to Luke-Acts which were not obtained from the Markan source, by noting the viewpoints of each, and by the study of the latest forms of the traditions. After analysis it is possible

to trace the steps which were observed to have been taken in the organization of tradition, and then to recover the situations which produced the several pictures of Jesus and the Pharisees.

Such a method is thoroughly objective. It is, indeed, possible that it may demonstrate that a grave injustice has become projected in Christian tradition and maintained until the present. But it is not by way of apologetic or special plea that truth shall be found and justice done; it is solely by exact dealing with the persistent problem.

II

JESUS AND THE PHARISEES IN THE EARLIEST GOSPEL

MARK brings Jesus and the Pharisees together only after drawing the lines between Jesus and scribes. As Jesus preaches and gathers disciples he goes to Capernaum, where on a Sabbath he attended synagogue and taught. "They" are said to have been astonished, for he did not teach as did the scribes. The story goes on to its main purpose, a typical wonder tale: in the synagogue and on a Sabbath Jesus controls an evil spirit. The report makes him famous. (Mark 1:21–28).

Following it is related that Jesus went into synagogues in all Galilee. Mark recounts the story of the healing of the paralytic, that dramatic incident in which, since the crowd was large, the patient was lowered from the roof of the house. There were present scribes, who, reasoning about the matter, were inclined to regard Jesus' pronouncement of the forgiveness of the man's sins as blasphemy. But this aspect is balanced in Mark's story by their acceptance of Jesus' point; they with the entire company were amazed, and glorified God (Mark 2:1–12).

But soon Pharisees enter the narrative in a specific identification. "The scribes of the Pharisees" (some MSS omit the article, while some read "the scribes and the Pharisees"), observe that Jesus ate with tax collectors and sinners, and

they question his followers about it. As it stands this is an unusual manner of identifying Pharisaic scribes. However, the relation suggested is unsympathetic (Mark 2:15–17).

Presently it is noted that when the Pharisees and the disciples of John were fasting the followers of Jesus were not. "The disciples of the Pharisees" are once named in the discussion, although at another point the Pharisees are named as such. The reply of Jesus is full of matter patently belonging to later tradition. But clearly Mark desires to picture these Pharisees as attempting to control Jesus' followers, and Jesus as resisting their attempt (Mark 2:18–22).

Pharisees openly criticize the behavior of the disciples in the next section. On a Sabbath as Jesus and his group were passing grain fields the disciples (nothing is said of Jesus) began to pluck the grain. The Pharisees asked Jesus why they did this, which, they said, was illegal on the Sabbath. Although no question had been raised about himself, Jesus defended them by citing a scripture (there is an error in the reference) and by enunciating a principle. The relation between the Pharisees and Jesus is unquestionably unsympathetic (Mark 2:23–28).

Immediately following is another section in which Sabbath custom forms the subject matter. "They," later identified as the Pharisees, watched to see if Jesus would heal the man with a withered hand in a way which might base an accusation. It is indubitable that the source represents Jesus as reacting very negatively to them as opponents. He looked at them in anger (the Greek expression is very strong), much moved at their cruelty. It is said that the Pharisees went out, and immediately, in concert with the Herodians, began a plot to destroy him. The hostility between the Pharisees and Jesus is unmistakable (Mark 3:1–6).

Conflict appears next as "the scribes who came down

from Jerusalem" aver that Jesus' power over demons was secured by means of Beelzebul. The narrow distinction in the identification may be significant (Mark 3:19b–30).

There may be mentioned Mark's narrative about one who is several times called a ruler of the synagogue. However, it is not clear that in this source the Pharisaic character of the synagogue is implied. If so, such references are irrelevant to the present purpose. This would then have to be said about the story of Jesus in the synagogue of his home village. The incident is calculated to emphasize the theme of rejection, but since Mark does not treat the synagogue as a Pharisaic institution, the theme is presented broadly (Mark 5:21–43, 6:2–6).

In the point now reached the Pharisees are named in a matter of primary importance. The section is the teaching which is precipitated as "the Pharisees and certain of the scribes who came from Jerusalem" noticed that some of Jesus' disciples ate without observing certain laws of ritual purity. Thus the "tradition of the elders" is cited. It is notable that no question is raised about the behavior of Jesus. But Mark adds the sweeping statement that "the Pharisees, and all the Jews, unless they wash their hands, *pugmē* (it is impossible to determine what this word means), do not eat, holding the traditions of the elders . . . . there are many other things which they have received to maintain. . . . ." It is this tradition which is the subject of the section.

Jesus, as in other cases, defends his followers. He quotes Isaiah approvingly, calls the objectors hypocrites, and charges them with abandoning God's commandment in favor of the tradition of men. He illustrates the charge by the Corban vow. Whereas, he says, honor of parent is commanded, the tradition nullifies this, since one might by the vow deprive his parents of the means of support. Jesus alleges that these peo-

ple do many such deeds, and then answers the main question about ritual purity. Mark generalizes that by his teaching Jesus abrogated all dietary laws (Mark 7:1–23).

Clearly Mark here designs to contrast the teachings of Jesus and those alleged of the Pharisees and these scribes. The relations are decidedly unfriendly. For the first time the epithet "hypocrite" is attached to scribes and Pharisees. Jesus is quite out of sympathy with the tradition.

Pharisees next appear seeking from Jesus a sign from heaven, trying him (Mark 8:11–21). The question is distasteful to Jesus; none is offered, and he warns his followers to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod. Although the statement was not understood, it is not made clear. Whatever was understood by their "leaven," the reference implies an unfriendly evaluation.

Since Mark has been observed to have a notable interest in scribes, it is doubtless significant that they are named as one of the parties in the prediction of Jesus' death (Mark 8:31). They are also named as questioning Jesus' disciples during his absence (Mark 9:14).

The Pharisees reappear, still intent on trying Jesus (the text as usually read names Pharisees without using the article; some readings omit reference to Pharisees altogether). Their question is baldly put: Is it lawful for a man to divorce a wife? This form of the question is unusual from Pharisees, who, as legalists, well knew that while the ground for divorce was questionable, the law permitting divorce was not ambiguous. As Mark develops it, the incident becomes an occasion for an alleged teaching of Jesus which quite undercuts the Mosaic law. Thus it appears that the primary interest of the story is the teaching; Pharisees are introduced only for background (Mark 10:2–12).

Scribes are again named in the second prediction of Jesus'

death (Mark 10:33), and in the story of the cleansing of the Temple; they, with others, are said to have sought how they might destroy Jesus (Mark 11:18). It is notable that by this point the Temple group has taken the lead in opposition; the group, including scribes, challenges Jesus' authority, and appears to be those against whom the parable of the Unfaithful Tenants was spoken (Mark 11:27–33, 12:1–12).

However, Pharisees re-enter the story, as "they" (the groups named above?) send certain of the Pharisees and of the Herodians to entrap Jesus in speech. Their question had evident political bearing: was it lawful to give tribute to Caesar, to give, or not? Mark represents Jesus as aware of the hypocrisy of the question. His answer baffled the questioners, and presumably the story intends to show that their purpose had been defeated (Mark 12:13–17).

A story about a friendly scribe lightens the otherwise dark suggestion of Jesus' relation with them (Mark 12:28–34), but immediately following the shadows gather again as Mark reports Jesus' reproof of the scribal order (Mark 12:38–40). Beware of the scribes, is the teaching, who appear ostentatiously, who desire recognition, who devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayers. While the critical text relegates some clauses to the margin, there remain charges against the scribes as a class.

Further data in Mark do not involve Pharisees explicitly. It is instructive to note carefully the naming of groups responsible for Jesus' death; but for the present purpose it is sufficient to point out that Pharisees are not included, unless it is assumed that Mark implies the Pharisaic character of scribes. This does not seem necessarily to follow.

Indeed, it may be generalized that it is only by such gratuitous assumption that a consistent anti-Pharisaic tend-

ency may be found in Mark. Since it is not clear that Mark implies the Pharisaic character of the scribal order nor of the synagogue as an institution, the amount of anti-Pharisaic tradition in the earliest Gospel is in contrast with the situation of the later sources. In some incidents the relation between Jesus and Pharisees is decidedly unfriendly, and Jesus is said to have been unsympathetic with some of their institutions and interpretations. Yet it can hardly be taken that there is in Mark any highly developed tendency toward anti-Pharisaic polemic.

III

DEVELOPING TRADITION

THERE is no necessity to offer evidence that the Markan Gospel, practically in its present form, was used as a source of the later Gospels. It follows that by noting how the traditions of the earliest were treated by the later writers, it is possible to observe developing tradition. A brief canvass of the materials will conveniently exhibit the phenomena.

For example, the note that the people were astonished at Jesus' teaching is in Matthew taken from Mark's setting and placed at the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 7:28b, 29). Luke keeps the context and part of the material, but he does not contrast the authority of Jesus' teaching with that of the scribes (Luke 4:32). Both retain the statement that Jesus continued to teach in the synagogues, but the critical text of Luke reads that he was preaching in the synagogues of Judea (4:44).

In their stories of the healing of the paralytic, Matthew retains Mark's identification of "certain of the scribes," while Luke alters it to "the scribes and the Pharisees" (Matt. 9:3, Luke 5:21). Thus by Luke an incident which in the earlier source does not involve Pharisees except by assuming that these were Pharisaic scribes is by specific identification made to implicate them. Luke adds that there were present Pharisees and doctors of the Law (using a term character-

istic of Luke-Acts) who were come from every village of Galilee and Judea and Jerusalem (5:17), quite evidently heightening the official character of their judgment of Jesus' behavior.

Significant changes are made by the editors of Mark in the stories in which "the scribes of the Pharisees" appear. Matthew here and below names the Pharisees alone (9:11–14). Luke first reads "the Pharisees and their scribes," but below has "the (disciples) of the Pharisees" (5:30, 33).

Concerning the disciples plucking grain on the Sabbath, Matthew retains Mark's identification "the Pharisees" (12:2), while Luke restricts it to "certain of the Pharisees" (6:2). Both silently correct the erroneous Scripture citation, and both omit the saying that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath.

Similarly, in his account of the healing of the man with the withered hand, Matthew retains Mark's identification (12:10, 14). Luke, however, reads "the scribes and the Pharisees" where they have the pronoun, and the pronoun where they are specific (6:7, 11). Matthew omits the statement, which Luke contains, that they watched Jesus to see if he would heal on the Sabbath; both omit the statement that Jesus was angry, as well as the reference to the Herodians. But both state that Jesus' opponents plotted against him, Matthew's being the stronger form.

In relating the incident in which Jesus was charged with using the power of Beelzebul in demon control, Matthew ignores Mark's distinction. He says that the charge was made by "the Pharisees" (12:22–45, 9:32–34). Luke says that it was made by "them," i.e., the multitude, and in his account the reproof is addressed to the people as a whole. Matthew's reproof, addressed to these Pharisees, calls them children of snakes, an epithet not found here in Luke, but present in an-

other context, where it is applied, not to Pharisees, but to the people.

If Mark's story of the restoration to life of the daughter of a synagogue ruler implies a friendly relation between Jesus and a Pharisee, the implication is dropped by Matthew, who calls the man a ruler (9:18–23). Luke retains Mark's phrase (8:41–49). Is it significant that both add the detail that Jesus wore the "fringes" prescribed by the Pharisaic interpretation of Deuteronomy 22:12?

Mark's story of Jesus' unpleasant experience in the synagogue of his own country is only slightly changed by Matthew (13:54–58), but it is by Luke completely recast for a particular purpose (4:16–30).

A note added in Matthew to Mark's story of the commission of the Twelve calls attention to Jesus' continued use of synagogues. In this connection Matthew inserts as a doublet (of which the source is a later section of Mark) the prediction that in their mission the Twelve will be scourged in the synagogues (9:35, 10:17).

Luke does not include Mark's report of Jesus' encounter with the tradition of the elders, and Matthew abbreviates it. He follows Mark in stating that there were Pharisees and scribes who came from Jerusalem. He omits Mark's comment concerning the currency of customs of ritual cleansing, correcting Mark at a point where it was not difficult to have superior information. He also omits the corban expression, as well as the charge that there were many such abuses practiced. But he adds the statement that the Pharisees were scandalized, and that Jesus called them blind guides. He omits Mark's statement that Jesus' instruction made all foods clean, evidently not caring to draw this inference. Another significant alteration is the use of a vocative, so that "you

hypocrites" is first applied to the Pharisees in Matthew (15: 1–20).

The distribution of the Markan materials about the demand for a heavenly sign differs in Matthew and Luke. Matthew has the odd identification "the Pharisees and Sadducees." Later their "leaven" is said to mean teaching, so that Jesus is represented as warning the disciples against the teaching of the two leading Jewish groups (16:1–12). Luke does not parallel this context, but he has verbal parallels of most of the Markan materials. In one place sign-seekers are called hypocrites, and in another the disciples are warned against the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy (12:1, 54–56).

The later evangelists follow Mark in naming scribes as one of the groups involved in the prediction of Jesus' death (Matt. 16:21, Luke 9:22).

While Luke omits Mark's section containing the teaching about divorce, Matthew edits it significantly (19:3–12). In his account the questioners are Pharisees, and he retains Mark's statement that they were testing Jesus. The form of their question, Is it lawful for one to divorce his wife *for every cause?* is quite relevant, tantamount to asking for a ruling upon the subject being debated by the schools of Hillel and Shammai.

In the second prediction of Jesus' death Matthew names chief priests and scribes (20:18), while Luke omits identifications, predicting the delivery of Jesus to the Gentiles (18:32).

In relating the story of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem Luke adds that some of the Pharisees from the multitude, objecting to the enthusiasm manifested, requested Jesus to rebuke his disciples (19:39).

Again, while Matthew, in telling of Jesus cleansing the

Temple, retains the reference to the chief priests and the scribes (21:12–17), Luke omits it, but he states that they, with the principal men of the people, sought to destroy Jesus (19:45–48).

The challenge of Jesus' authority is reported as made by the chief priests and elders of the people (Matt. 21:23) and by the chief priests and the scribes with the elders (Luke 20:1).

Developing tradition specifically identifies those to whom the parable of the Unfaithful Tenants was spoken. In Matthew it is said that when the chief priests and the Pharisees heard his parables they perceived that he spoke of them (21:45). In Luke it is said that this recognition was made by the scribes and the chief priests (20:19).

The identification of those who questioned Jesus about paying tribute is modified by the later writers. Matthew drops Mark's restriction to "certain of," thus making the Pharisees, who had counseled how they might ensnare Jesus, send their disciples with the Herodians to ask the question (22:15–22). In Luke the identity depends upon the antecedent of the pronoun "they," probably the scribes and the chief priests. But they were hypocritical spies feigning to be just. The Herodians are not mentioned (20:20–26).

Mark's story about the friendly scribe is changed. Luke, instead of one, has a group, "certain of the scribes," witness Jesus' success, and he remarks that they dared not ask more questions (20:39f). Matthew has it that when the Pharisees observed that Jesus had vanquished the Sadducees they gathered into a group, and one of them, a lawyer (the sole use of Luke's characteristic word), asked the question to try Jesus. The friendliness of Mark's story is changed to enmity, and Jesus' answer is defensive (Matt. 22:34–40). Both Matthew and Luke omit Jesus' approval of the scribe.

Following this section, Matthew reports Jesus as citing Psalm 110 with the purpose of confuting the Pharisees; after this, it is said, no one dared question him (22:41–46).

Mark's account of the reproof of the scribes is used differently in developing tradition. Luke follows it closely in the same context, while Matthew, using the context, greatly alters and expands the reproof. Luke, in a different context, has materials similar to those of Matthew here; the data will be discussed elsewhere.

Source manipulation is observable in the discourse about last things. Luke follows Mark in predicting the mistreatment of disciples in synagogues, while Matthew has transferred the saying to the discourse at the commission of the Twelve (Matt. 10:17, 24:9, Luke 21:12).

In the Matthean and Lukan editions of Mark's identifications of the groups who caused Jesus' death variability has already been noted; the same phenomena continue. In naming the conspirators Matthew reads "the chief priests and the elders of the people" (26:3), while Luke agrees with Mark (22:2). In telling of the plot of Judas, all three state that it was with the chief priests, although Luke adds "and captains" (Matt. 26:14, Luke 22:4). The arrest is said by the later evangelists to have been without the presence of the scribes mentioned by Mark; Matthew names the chief priests and elders of the people (26:47), while Luke has the chief priests and captains of the Temple and elders (22:52). In the details of the story of the trial before the high priest Matthew names the scribes and elders (26:57), while Luke refers to the assembly of the elders of the people, both chief priests and scribes (22:66). But in the account of the trial before Pilate Matthew consistently omits mention of scribes in each of his five identifications (27:1, 3, 6, 12, 20), while Luke makes the groupings in all references save one to be

more general. He refers to the whole company, the chief priests and the rulers of the people (23:1, 4, 13). His consistent inclusion of the people as a whole gives the impression that the action against Jesus was the behavior of a mob. The one exception to this otherwise consistent tendency is the identification of the groups who accuse Jesus before Herod Antipas as chief priests and scribes (23:10). In naming the scoffers at the cross Matthew reads "the chief priests with the scribes and elders" (27:41), while Luke states that they were the rulers (23:35).

The survey of the development of the Markan traditions in Matthew and Luke fails to demonstrate any consistency on the part of the later writers in their dealing with earlier references to people who may have been Pharisees. At times Mark is corrected. Sometimes general statements are made more specific, but again certain restricted identifications in Mark are made general. There is apparent a considerable amount of manipulation of the Markan source, with the result that sometimes the Pharisees are pictured in a better aspect, although the reverse seems more frequently to be true. Perhaps the phenomena which the most nearly approach consistency are the data which modify Mark's antiscribal tendency; these are observable in the passion story. But on the whole the Matthean and Lukan editions of the earliest Gospel tend to heighten the unfavorable picture of the Pharisees. This is particularly noticeable in the Gospel according to Matthew.

IV
OTHER FORMS OF TRADITION

THE assurance with which the Matthean and Lukan editions of Mark may be studied may not be carried to the analysis of other materials which they used. They doubtless used the Markan Gospel in substantially its present form, and it is possible, by comparing their editions with Mark as it stands, to observe how they have used this source. They doubtless had materials which, since they occur very similarly in both Gospels, but not in Mark, must be regarded as other forms of tradition.

But it is impossible to know what was the original form of these materials, or to be certain of the degree to which Matthew and Luke have edited, i.e., altered them, since, unlike Mark, they do not have independent existence. They exist only as they have been shaped by the evangelists, so that comparison between their composition and their later status may not be made.

Until recently it was usually thought that by taking a harmony of the Gospels and abstracting the materials which are paralled in Matthew and Luke, but not present in Mark, one would have the "second source" of the Synoptic Gospels, a source comparable in age, worth, and importance with Mark. The work of Professor E. D. Burton[1] seriously un-

[1] Burton, *Some Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem.*

dermined this assumption. Canon Streeter has abandoned it.[2] German criticism is taking a direction in which less attention is paid to this "source"; the attempt is through the study of literary types to determine the rubrics in which the Gospel materials were used in early Christian preaching, and thus to understand the growth of the Gospels.[3] In many circles today there is much less confidence in the reliability of hypothetically reconstructed source documents.[4]

In any case, the ultimate fact is that the materials of the Gospels, as they were distributed and given their character by the writers, furnish the data of the present study. While it may be hoped that research may one day be able to discover how their present forms were given them by the evangelists, it is felt that the present study may contribute to this end, rather than that it should assume it.

What is proposed, then, is to regard the non-Markan materials paralleled in Matthew and Luke as other forms of tradition, and, without reference to their original status, to observe what they disclose of the alleged relations of Jesus and the Pharisees.

Matthew and Luke display the same variability in these materials which was noted in their use of Mark. The first example which shows this is the accounts of the preaching of John. For part of their treatment they use Mark, but they have many non-Markan data, some of which they have in common, although some are peculiar to Luke. Both, in reporting John's message, include a bitter denunciation in which the hearers are rebuked. Luke states that these sayings were to "the multitudes," but Matthew directs them to

[2] Streeter, *The Four Gospels.*

[3] E.g., Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*; Dibelius, *Formgeschichte der Evangelien.*

[4] Cf. the methodology of Case, *Jesus: A New Biography.*

"many of the Pharisees and Sadducees" (Matt. 3:7, Luke 3:7).

The next occasion of reference to Pharisees in the other forms of tradition is in the variant accounts of the so-called Sermon on the Mount. As it happens, references to Pharisees, directly or by inference, occur only in sections which are not paralleled in the other gospel, and are thus peculiar to each evangelist. Strict maintenance of the method adopted necessitates the discussion of these data elsewhere.

It is obvious that Matthew's "sermon" is more extensive than Luke's, and that the materials of the sermon which are paralleled in Luke are for the most part distributed in several settings. This offers a datum of editorial method. Did Matthew compile, and Luke distribute them? An answer based upon objective evidence may be offered. In Matthew there are five extensive discourses, in which are materials present in the sources (e.g., Mark) which the evangelist used. But in the Lukan form they are in different contexts. It follows that their status in Matthew is due to compilation. Since here each discourse ends with a stock formula, editorial work is manifest.

This being the case, it is an interesting, and without doubt a significant, fact that in the Matthean "sermon" there are references to Pharisees which are absent from that of Luke. The importance of this fact will appear presently.

It has been noted that at the conclusion of his sermon Matthew places the statement, which in Mark occurs in another connection, that the multitudes were astonished at Jesus' teaching, since it contrasted with that of the scribes. Thus he places into dichotomy the teaching of Jesus and that of the scribes.

Immediately after the "sermon" in Luke, and in a nearby setting in Matthew, is a story with important implications.

There was in Capernaum a Roman officer who had a sick slave, and who caused a deputation of Jewish leaders to invite Jesus to assist him. As Luke tells the story (7:1–10), this group consisted of "elders of the Jews" who interceded for the centurion on the basis that "he loves our nation, and himself built our synagogue"; Jesus is pictured as being upon such terms with influential Jewish leaders that they feel free to come to him with a request, basing it upon common interest in their fellows and in the synagogue. But the primary purpose of the story is to illustrate the superior faith of the non-Jews. This is explicitly pointed out by both gospels in the common saying, "I have not found such faith as this in Israel." Matthew has no reference to a deputation of Jews, but has the officer come with his own request; any implication of relation between Jesus and Jewish leaders, of sympathy with the "nation," or of interest in the synagogue disappears. In addition, he adds to Jesus' remark further statements which are paralleled elsewhere in Luke which make the purpose the more explicit; the tenor becomes quite anti-Jewish (8:5–13).

Another item occurs in the other forms of tradition which makes up the anti-Pharisaic tendency. It is in the teaching section which follows the question of the disciples of John. In Luke it is said that all the people and the tax collectors, when they heard, were pleased by Jesus' sayings, but that the Pharisees and the lawyers (the characteristic term of Luke) rejected the counsel of God (7:29f). It is impossible to determine whether this statement stood in the source or is editorial; at any rate its implication is clear. The parallel teaching materials extend the atmosphere of opposition and polemic to "this generation" (Matt. 11:15–19, Luke 7:31–35).

Phenomena of identification which are similar to those

already discovered occur as Matthew specifies "certain of the scribes and Pharisees" (12:38) where Luke has simply "others," i.e., of the multitudes, ask for a sign (11:16). Again, where Luke reads that "a certain man" volunteered discipleship, Matthew says that the man was a scribe (Matt. 8:19, Luke 9:57).

The interrogation of the non-Markan data of Matthew and of Luke next refers to the variously distributed matter of the direct denunciations of the (scribes and) Pharisees. A small section in Mark (12:38–40) is the primary source. Upon this Matthew and Luke have built considerable discourses. Matthew preserves Mark's setting, radically altering his words. Luke in this context closely parallels Mark's words, but in two different settings he exhibits teachings which have relation to the non-Markan materials of Matthew. In Matthew the sayings are grouped into a single discourse, with a degree of literary finish. In Luke the Pharisees are denounced first; the scribes, afterward.

As Luke puts it, the occasion for the denunciation of the Pharisees was a meal, to which Jesus is invited by a Pharisee. The host notes that he does not bathe before eating, and marvels at the omission. Although it is not stated that he objected, the story has it that Jesus immediately accuses "you, the Pharisees," of hypocrisy, and pronounces his woes upon them. "One of the lawyers" (the characteristic term) observes that his group is involved, whereupon Jesus utters woes upon them as well. At the close, Luke says, the scribes and the Pharisees began to oppose Jesus, attempting to provoke him to further speech, and to lie in wait to catch something from his words (11:37–54). In the meanwhile, it is said, when a crowd of "myriads" was gathered, Jesus warned his hearers against the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypoc-

risy (12:1). Opposition is predicted, including trials in synagogues (12:4, 11).

In the Matthean discourse the "woes" against the (scribes and) Pharisees appear in climactic order, rising to an unparalleled height of bitterness. His denunciation is the *locus classicus* of Gospel anti-Pharisaism, and it is doubtless this caricature of the Pharisee which has largely caused the common evaluation of the group.

The seven woes, based upon alleged characteristics, are pronounced for shutting the Kingdom of Heaven, proselytizing, casuistic oath-taking, tithing in minor matters to the neglect of important ones, "cleansing the outside of the cup, while within are extortion and excess," similarity to whited tombs, and alleged regret for but actual participation in religious persecution. Prefacing them is a summary charge of imposing burdens which they do not assume, and of ostentation.

Luke's form of the "woes" is prefaced by the "outside of the cup" figure, and they are based upon charges of tithing the unimportant and neglecting the important matters, ostentation, and being as undistinguishable tombs. Those to the lawyers charge the imposition of unassumed burdens, becoming accomplices with the forefathers, and taking away the key of knowledge. Between the second and third appears teaching which in the Matthean form has superior climactic arrangement.

The tenor of these two accounts is unmistakable. Whether the basic anti-Pharisaism was present in the sources or was given to the present form by the evangelists, it is clear that these forms of tradition present a high degree of polemic against the (scribes and) Pharisees. The relation between Jesus and the Pharisees suggested by these data is that of strained enmity which perilously nears the breaking-point.

V

THE VIEWPOINT OF AN EVANGELIST

IT IS in his Sermon on the Mount that the First Evangelist has a number of sayings, not found elsewhere, which particularly involve the Pharisees. Here Jesus is represented as disclaiming any intent to abrogate the law, but on the contrary, proclaiming a still more rigid standard. He is made to say, "Unless your justness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven." What is apparently intended as illustration of this standard follows, a series of moral principles, each introduced by the formula, "You have heard, ... but I say." These teachings are usually taken as indicating the manner in which the teaching of Jesus differs from that of the scribes and the Pharisees.

Clearly the writer intended the contrast to be thus pointed. The sole question arises because the contrast did not exist in fact. It is impossible to find in the teachings of the rabbis the principles which, here ascribed to them, are made the basis of contrast. However, this question, although important, is not relevant here; it is essential to note that the evangelist alleges a contrast, whether or not the contrast alleged was existent.

Connected with the teaching upon the higher justness, next appears a section in which the outward aspects of the standard are contrasted with the behavior of those "hypo-

crites" who are usually taken to be Pharisees. True, they are not explicitly identified; but since they habituate the synagogues it is probable that the evangelist intended them to be so understood. The disciples are warned not to do their deeds of justness publicly, else they lose their reward. When they give alms they are not to sound a trumpet before them, as do these hypocrites who thus court the approval of men. Nor should the disciples pray, as do the hypocrites, in the synagogues and on street corners. Finally, they are not to fast after the manner of the hypocrites, with disfigured countenance which advertises their piety.

Again, it is not difficult to show, if by these hypocrites Pharisees are meant, that the characteristics alleged may readily be refuted. Perhaps the most telling illustration of this is the experience of the elder Lightfoot, who searched so zealously among the rabbinical sources to find materials in substantiation of the Gospel statements about Judaism. In seeking to illustrate the saying about the trumpet in almsgiving he frankly admits: "I have not found, although I have sought for it long and seriously, even the least mention of a trumpet in connection with almsgiving."[1] But it is not necessary here to discuss the truth or the falsity of these charges; it is sufficient to note that the evangelist intended them to be taken as marking a difference between the disciples of Jesus and those who frequent synagogues. In affirming a contrast careful discrimination of exceptions is seldom found. At any rate, the evangelist here desires to emphasize contrast. Doubtless this is what leads him to transfer to this point the Markan notice that Jesus' teaching was unlike that of the scribes in being authoritative.

There is an interesting exception, as Matthew's peculiar materials are scanned, to the well-nigh uniform antiscribal

[1] *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae, ad loc.*

tendency. In his addition to the collection of parables in his third large discourse section there is an approving note: "Every scribe who has been made a disciple to the Kingdom of Heaven is like a man who is lord of a house, who puts out of his treasure new things and old things" (13:52).

Attention has been called to Matthew's transfer to his second large discourse (9:35—11:1) of materials which, occurring in other contexts in Mark and Luke, are utilized to intensify the prediction of opposition and persecution which the apostles of the new movement are to expect from Jews. Another instructive example is the statement: "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more they of his household" (10:25).

Again, Jesus is said to address a parable and a question (21:28–32) to a group which seems to have been identified as the chief priests and elders, who, at any rate, form the antecedent to the pronoun "they" of the story. Matthew causes Jesus to say to those who asked the question, "The tax-collectors and the harlots go into the Kingdom of Heaven before you."

It is in Matthew alone that the Pharisees are the group to whom Jesus put the question about the Davidic sonship of the Anointed. As the story reads (22:41–46) it is clear that Jesus is pictured as taking the initiative in turning against opponents the bitter debates of the last days.

Of course it is in his formal discourse in denunciation of the scribes and the Pharisees (23:1–36) that the anti-Pharisaic bias of Matthew reaches its climax, and in this it is the peculiar portions and the grouping and arrangement, for which the evangelist is responsible, which give the section its climactic character. "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat; therefore whatever they bid you, do and observe, but do not after their works, for they say, and do not." Thus

Matthew introduces the discourse, making it apply without exception to the scribes and Pharisees as such. Peculiar to Matthew is the statement that "all their works they do to be seen of men," such as using very large phylacteries and unusually long fringes on their garments (in interpretation of certain laws). They love to be called "Rabbi"; the disciples are not to use honorific titles. They are zealous in proselyting, but the effect is to make the new Jew twice the son of Gehenna. They take casuistic oaths. They are "blind guides, who strain out the gnat and swallow the camel." The scribes and Pharisees outwardly appear to be just, but inwardly they are full of hypocrisy and sin.

The entire discourse is bitter, even venomous, in its effect. Strange, in view of this general effect, is Matthew's addition to Luke's naming of the groups commissioned with Jesus' message; whereas Luke names prophets and apostles, Matthew causes Jesus to say, "I send to you prophets and wise men and scribes." Another notable feature is that while in all cases but one the denunciations are of scribes and Pharisees, in 23:26 the Pharisee is singled out.

Finally, it is one of the most unpleasant features of the First Gospel that Pharisaic opposition to Jesus is claimed to have been carried even beyond his death. As Matthew puts it, the chief priests and the Pharisees went in concert to Pilate, reminding him of Jesus' prediction of his resurrection and asking him to post a guard in order to avoid a plot. Matthew thus inserts an anti-Pharisaic statement into the conclusion (27:62), as he did into the beginning of his work.

It has been shown that Mark, as the earliest Gospel, does not have a definitely anti-Pharisaic tendency. Although anti-Pharisaism had already there made its appearance, the identifications hardly characterize the Pharisees as a class; there is in Mark an antiscribal rather than an anti-Pharisaic bias.

But it is different in Matthew. However it is to be accounted for, it is unmistakable that in this gospel there is pronounced anti-Pharisaic polemic. This is observable in all relationships, in the editorial alterations of the Markan source, in the other forms of tradition, and in the peculiar materials. While there is in the Matthean Gospel a basic appreciation of the legalistic point of view, and some knowledge and appreciation of the values of Judaism, there can be no doubt that the writer intended a gulf of distinction to be understood as existing between Jesus and the Pharisees. This is a basic element in the point of view of the evangelist.

VI

THE VIEWPOINT OF AN APOLOGIST

IT IS most unfortunate for historical study that the two-volume work, Luke-Acts, has been separated into its component parts. The separation has had many ill effects, not the least of which is the obscuring of the purpose of the work as a whole. It is hoped that the present study may assist in illumining this darkness, for the notation in Luke-Acts of the traditions of the Pharisees goes far toward restoring the atmosphere in which the work was composed. In the Gospel the traditions of Jesus and the Pharisees, and in Acts the traditions of the Pharisees and Jesus' followers, clearly demonstrate the apologetic character of the author's viewpoint. In the present study both volumes will be analyzed together.

In the Lukan Gospel not only were most of the Markan references to the Pharisees utilized, as well as other data which were used similarly by Matthew, but there are several data which are peculiar to Luke, some of which are of importance.

It is notable, both in the Gospel and in Acts, that the author emphasizes Jerusalem and the temple. This interest appears to have led to the redistribution of many items of tradition. For example, it is after the relation of many significant events in the south that it is said that Jesus returned

to Galilee, taught in the synagogues, and achieved considerable fame (4:14).

In connection with this synagogue activity Luke reports one of his unique sections. He transfers to this point the Markan story of Jesus' experience in the Nazareth synagogue. It was his habit, the evangelist says, to frequent the synagogue on the Sabbath. On this occasion Jesus was chosen to read the lesson from the prophets and to offer the day's address. The incident assumes the sympathy to secure for him the opportunity to teach, but there is alleged a high degree of antipathy to Jesus on the part of the synagogue attendants (4:16–30).

The small paragraph (7:29f.) in the discourse whose setting is Jesus' response to the questions of John's disciples contains a reference to Pharisees. It is to the effect that "all the people, when they heard, and the tax-collectors, justified God . . . . but the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected for themselves the counsel of God."

Luke alone tells the story of the anointing of Jesus' feet while he was dining in the home of a Pharisee (7:36–50). A woman, said to be a sinner, entered the house and penitently performed the anointing. The Pharisee mentally remarked that if Jesus were a prophet he should have recognized the woman's character. Jesus then related the parable of the two debtors, and contrasted the woman's regard with the host's omission of the acts of hospitality. The primary interest is in the teaching, and the Pharisee perhaps merely furnishes setting; but the story at least implies that Jesus was not to be regarded as taboo by reason of social class.[1]

Possibly the setting of the parable of the Samaritan re-

[1] Some interpreters associate Jesus with the *ame-ha-ares* (e.g., Herford, *The Pharisees*, p. 115). But to substantiate such a classification would necessitate explaining away these and other data.

fers by implication to Pharisees; at all events it contributes to the writer's viewpoint. This teaching (10:25–37) is said to have been offered in response to a question of "a certain lawyer." This is Luke's characteristic word for scribe.

Presently, as Luke organizes his materials, comes his report of the rebuke of the Pharisees (11:37–52). In Luke the occasion is another of those on which Jesus is said to have eaten with a Pharisee. As before, the host observes that Jesus did not wash before eating. Without other introduction the rebuke is uttered. In Luke's narrative there is nothing to indicate an audience other than the host, but as the story goes on it appears that "one of the lawyers" heard the rebuke, which presently is directed against his class. The rebuke has already been discussed. Here it is relevant only to point out that its general tone is much less bitter than Matthew's. The effect in Luke is lessened by the separate consideration of the Pharisees and the lawyers; Matthew's denunciation of both together is much more powerful.

Of the peculiar materials, only the setting and the conclusion are of great importance; Luke's placing the discourse in the social relationship is not without significance. Likewise the conclusion offers new suggestions, "and when he had come out from there the scribes (the common term) and the Pharisees began to set themselves vehemently against (him) and to provoke him to speak of more things, lying in wait for him to catch something from his mouth" (11:53f.). In immediate connection is placed the Lukan form of the teaching about the leaven of the Pharisees (12:1); this leaven is hypocrisy. This teaching is offered, Luke says, to an extensive public "when the myriads of the multitude were gathered together, so that they trod upon one another." Thus, although in his setting of the rebuke no public is mentioned, Luke articulates the conclusion to the most extensive public

in the narrative. Certainly this gains an effect, as doubtless was intended.

Luke adds to the discourse which follows, of which the materials have source relationship, another note implying the persecution of the disciples by the adherents of the synagogues (12:11).

It is a noteworthy feature of the Third Gospel that the interest in Sabbath healing, which in Mark and Matthew is presented only in the early part of their narratives, is carried into the later sections. An instance is the story of Jesus restoring a woman who had long been infirm (13:10–17). The deed is said to have angered the ruler of the synagogue, since it was performed on the Sabbath. Jesus defended his act against objection, called the critics hypocrites, and put his opponents to shame, while the multitude rejoiced.

As a notable exception to the great number of derogatory references to Pharisees in these sections of Luke there stands the report of a group of "certain Pharisees" who cautioned Jesus that Herod wished to kill him (13:31).

Again, in a nearby context, appear together Luke's interest in picturing Jesus as dining with Pharisees and the interest in Sabbath healing. As the story is told (14:1–24), Jesus went on a Sabbath to dine with "one of the rulers of the Pharisees," and took the occasion himself to raise the question of the legality of Sabbath healing. The teaching, which is the primary value, is directed to "the lawyers and the Pharisees," and appears to be intentionally placed in contrast with their point of view. Luke adds other lessons which, if they belong to this place, distinctly jar upon the reader; Jesus is alleged to have noted how the guests sought out the most conspicuous places, and upon this notice to have projected a parable which contains very pointed advice.

Doubtless it is to furnish the setting for his group of

parables about the lost which leads Luke to note that when all the tax collectors and sinners were approaching Jesus to hear him, both the Pharisees and the scribes murmured, saying, "This man receives sinners and eats with them" (15:2). For it is in response to this objection that the three parables are related.

Following the parables about the lost, Luke presents his parable about the clever steward, with its moral "You cannot serve God and mammon." This becomes the occasion for one of the most serious of all the charges against the Pharisees in the peculiarly Lukan materials. The author says, "And the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, heard all these things, and they scoffed at him" (16:14). This charge, it should be noted, is not put into the mouth of Jesus; it is editorial.

Presently Luke represents the Pharisees as coming to Jesus with a question about the coming of the Kingdom of God (17:20). Jesus' answer is that it is without visible sign, "the Kingdom of God is within you."

In a nearby context Luke presents some parables of which the subject is prayer. For one such the story is the well-known one of the Pharisee and the tax collector (18:9–14). To "certain who trusted in themselves that they were just and set the rest at nought" Jesus related the parable of the two men praying in the Temple, the Pharisee who, praying within himself, thanked God that he was not like other men, and the tax collector who merely in contrition begged mercy. This parable also causes much pain to the defenders of the Pharisees, who regard it as a ludicrous caricature of the average Pharisee and a monstrous caricature of the Pharisaic ideal. Doubtless they are right, and their evidence to demonstrate the point is well taken. But the point is that the exaggeration is deliberate, and that the Gospel writer intend-

ed his overstatement to suggest such an unfavorable characterization.

It has been noted that Luke adds to the story of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem the statement that when they saw the enthusiasm which attended the event "some of the Pharisees from the multitude" advised Jesus to rebuke his disciples (19:39).

Attention has already been called to Luke's identification of groups associated in securing Jesus' death, and of groups who furnish the background for the harassing of Jesus in those last days. It is to be noted that in details where Mark is his source he follows the source more closely than does Matthew.

It seems to be fair to conclude that the general impression which the author of Luke-Acts desires his readers to gain from his former volume is unfavorable. The reader is expected to understand that there was a great gulf between Jesus and the Pharisees. To be sure, the presentation is not so unfavorable as that of Matthew, and there are exceptions in Luke to the generally unsympathetic delineation. Here and there the dark suggestions are relieved by a brighter tone. But the lack of consistency and the several exceptions do not obscure the development of the process as a whole.

But one may not omit attention to the fact that the Lukan Gospel is the former of a two-volume work. Fully to appreciate the whole presentation of the Pharisees requires the notation of the point of view of the writer, which is the same in the Gospel and in the Acts. This will bring into relief the factor which operated to produce the particularly Lukan form of the traditions of the Pharisees. For, even as it is observed that the Pharisees play a smaller rôle in Acts, it will be discovered that it is the apologetic viewpoint in Luke-Acts as a whole which controls their place in the two

volumes. In the Gospel theirs is a major part, while in Acts they are subordinated to "the Jews" as such. This is a phenomenon in which Luke-Acts is very like the Fourth Gospel. As shall appear, these works possess this characteristic by reason of their apologetic viewpoint. In the case of Luke-Acts artistic care demanded distinction of groups to an extent which did not obtain for the plan of the Fourth Gospel. These matters may readily be observed in the traditions.

In Acts, as in the Fourth Gospel, the story begins by using as background the larger public. Also as in the Fourth Gospel there is an effective distinction secured by the use of plurals. So far as groups in opposition appear, the temple groups are first to emerge in specific identification, the Sadducees being named as such (Acts 5:27).

As in the Fourth Gospel, a notable Pharisee early appears. As Peter defends himself and his fellows before the council, a Pharisee named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law (Luke's characteristic term) who was honored by the people, calls attention to other revolutionary movements and counsels patience until events prove whether this one is from God. It is patent that the author's apologetic viewpoint is uppermost in the story. The very language of Gamaliel speaks, not for the council, but for the new movement: "if this counsel of this work be of men [the grammar shows that this is an improbable supposition] it will be overthrown, but if it is from God [the language clearly implies that this is the true supposition], you will not be able to overthrow it; you may indeed be fighting God" (5:34–40).

It is the purpose of Acts to show that opposition from Jewish groups failed to harm the growing movement; indeed, they were affected by it, as is suggested by the statement that presently "a great company of priests accepted the faith" (6:7).

But the priestly groups continued their opposition, one result being the murder of Stephen. Stephen's speech, however, offers another opportunity for the author's expression of apologetic.

The death of Stephen became the prelude to a "great persecution of the church in Jerusalem." Saul took part in it, and owing to the enforced absence of many adherents from the city, the faith began to spread into the outlying regions. Thus another obvious interest of Acts appears, the rise of gentile adherents. The people of Samaria are evangelized; another conspicuous instance was the conversion of a prominent Ethiopian eunuch; and generalized activity has the result that when peace followed the conversion of Saul the church extended throughout Judea, Galilee, and Samaria (9:26–31). Perhaps the most outstanding expression of this interest in the early chapters of Acts is the story of the conversion of the Roman Cornelius under the leadership of Peter. It appears to have been something of a conversion of Peter as well, since by divine revelation he was taught to disregard the dietary laws. The entire incident is, after discussion, approved by the Jerusalem group, who glorified God, since he had granted repentance to Gentiles (11:1–18).

By this point the apologetic view of Acts appears plainly, as may be seen in Peter's reference to Jesus' death: "We are witnesses of all the things which he [Jesus] did both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem, whom also they slew, hanging him on a tree" (10:39). Such an objective generalization as "the Jews" not only is similar to the identifications of the Fourth Gospel but it expresses perfectly the apologetic viewpoint of Luke-Acts.

The point toward which Acts has been tending is attained as it is related that the movement, when it reached Antioch, took on distinctive features. The propagandists

now, since their activity is outside Palestine, begin to preach to Hellenistic Jews. This work is remarkably successful. It is inspected by Barnabas as representing the Jerusalem group; he is delighted, and secures Saul to further it. Acts mentions that the disciples were for the first time called Christians in Antioch (11:19–26).

Further persecution in Jerusalem is narrated. Herod caused the death of James, who thus became the first martyr from among the Twelve, and, as Acts says, when he saw that this pleased "the Jews," he seized Peter also (12:1–3).

Resuming the narration of Antiochean traditions a climax is reached as the holy spirit commissions Saul and Barnabas for aggressive missionary activity on the island of Cypress and the mainland. Here, although they work through synagogues, they evangelize not only Jews but Gentiles. Paul's addresses, like the other speeches in Acts, are thoroughly impregnated with apologetic. The result of their activity also illustrates the tendencies of the work, uniformly opposition appears from "the Jews," and presently the policy is enunciated, "It was necessary that the word of God should first be spoken to you; seeing that you thrust it from you and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, see! we turn to the Gentiles." This of course caused joy to the Gentiles, but the Jews stirred up further opposition. When the party returned to Antioch their report was that God had "opened a door of faith to the Gentiles."

Pharisees questioned the propriety of this. As the entire policy was being discussed in Jerusalem, "certain of the Pharisees who believed" insisted that it was necessary both to circumcise gentile converts and to require them to observe the Mosaic law (15:5). This clash of opinion was resolved irenically. Peter recalled how divine compulsion caused him to preach to Gentiles, and the fact that God made no dis-

tinction between the two groups. He recommended that it should not be required of Gentiles to keep the Law, which was a yoke which neither the present group nor their fathers had been able to bear (15:7–11). James also made a liberal speech, and a compromise suggested by him was adopted (15:13–21).

Since the gentile character of Christianity now becomes the uppermost feature of Acts, Pharisees are not primarily involved. The party of the second part is normally "the Jews." Quite uniformly evangelization makes a favorable impression and interests a public, whereupon trouble is precipitated by Jews. The source is willing upon occasion to allow for a relativity of their character; the Jews of Beroea were "nobler" than those of Thessalonica. But as opportunity after opportunity is offered the Jews, presently a climax is reached, and Paul announces that priority of offer is to the Gentiles. Also there is exception to the uniform rejection on the part of Jews. In Corinth no less a person than the ruler of the synagogue, with his household, accepted baptism. However, Jewish opposition did not cease, but, as Acts shows, when such opposition haled Paul to a Roman court, the court did not hear the case.

It is not relevant to the purpose of this study to rehearse the story of the missionary work of Paul. It is important, however, to note both the picture of the community of believers in Jerusalem as Paul meets it upon his final visit there, and to observe the forces of opposition to him as he represents the new movement. As it was predicted (21:11) that "the Jews of Jerusalem" should mistreat him, so it occurs. Although James and other leaders do not object to his work, he is warned (another appearance of the apologetic note) that there are myriads of believers among the Jews, all of them zealous for the Law. Paul is involved in a mob action, and

arrested. As the source recounts his several defenses his opponents are consistently "the Jews." The Pharisees are involved only when Paul divided the Jews into characteristic groups by raising the question of resurrection (23:7). But it is "the Jews," even though a party or an individual may be mentioned, who are his enemies, and when he saw his danger he appealed his case to the emperor.

Naturally this furnishes occasion for Acts to describe Paul in Rome. This the work does in a thoroughly characteristic manner. Indeed, nowhere does the viewpoint of an apologist stand out more clearly. Paul, living comfortably, receives "certain of the chief Jews" and discusses with them his situation and the movement which he represents. The usual result obtains: "some believed . . . . and some disbelieved." Luke-Acts then closes with Paul quoting from Scripture that the condition of the Jews had been foreshadowed; it was inevitable that they should be unreceptive; consequently "this salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles; they will hear" (28:16–31). Luke-Acts closes with the affirmation that Judaism is canceled.

APPENDIX: A GOSPEL FRAGMENT

Doubtless the proper place to discuss the story of the woman who was taken in adultery is at the point between Luke-Acts and the Fourth Gospel, since the fragment which appears in the received text at John 7:53–8:11 not only does not belong there, but in some MSS is placed at Luke 21:38.[1] Wherever it belongs, it contains an interesting reference to the Pharisees.

As Jesus was teaching the people in the Temple, the

[1] Cf. the note in Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in Greek*, II, 82–88.

scribes and the Pharisees brought to him a woman who had been taken in the very act of adultery. They therefore design to test Jesus' attitude toward the Law: "this they said, trying him, in order that they might have a basis upon which to accuse him." A most effective subsidiary purpose is served by the story, for not only do Jesus' pronouncement and the statute plainly contrast, but as plainly appears the character of his opponents as he enunciates the principle, "let him who among you is without sin throw the first stone," and they all, beginning with the eldest, retreat baffled.

Clearly this fragment, with its association of the scribes and the Pharisees as testing Jesus, is similar to the stories frequently appearing in the Synoptic Gospels. It adds one detail, however. Whereas the usual basis for test is either Sabbath healing, divorce, or some ritual custom, this story introduces a new feature: there was no doubt of the woman's guilt. Nor was there ambiguity of the penalty prescribed. Over against the legal basis the gentleness of Jesus stands in high relief. At some point in the development of the Gospel traditions of Jesus and the Pharisees this fragment played its part in building up the case against Jesus' opponents and in placing in still further contrast Christian non-legalism and the standpoint of the legalistic Jews.

VII

THE TRADITIONS IN THE LATEST GOSPEL

IT IS not merely the passing of time in the dates of the sources which causes the difference of atmosphere in the Synoptic and the Fourth Gospels; perhaps this difference is not so great as has been thought. It is rather a difference in outlook, in point of view. This distinction may readily be perceived in the references to Jesus and the Pharisees.

It is not the Pharisees, nor some of them, but, as in Acts, "the Jews," who usually are the opposing group. It is not in particularized conflict over a specific law that opposition occurs, but over "your law" in a position which is articulated in the rhythmic dichotomy of the prologue, "the Law was given through Moses; favor and truth came through Jesus Christ" (John 1:17). It is not in the synagogue that the conflict occurs, but in public debate, often in the temple. It is not in Galilee of the Gentiles that the decisive action comes, but in the center of official Judaism.

The Pharisees appear early in the narrative (1:19, 24). As early as "the witness of John" begins it is said that a deputation of priests and Levites was sent from Jerusalem to interview him. These are said first to have been sent by "the Jews," but later it is said that "those who had been sent were from the Pharisees."

The story of Jesus and "a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews" (3:1–15) is representative. The part played by Nicodemus is merely background for Jesus' teaching. The teaching is by contrast, as is familiar in all the gospels, but here it is not the contrast of the teaching of Nicodemus and that of Jesus. That Nicodemus, although he is "the teacher of Israel," is but a figure appears plainly from the appearance of the plural in Jesus' statement: "We speak that which we know, and witness to that which we have seen, but our witness you [plural] do not receive."

The evangelist evidently regards it as worth reporting that it came to the attention of the Pharisees that Jesus was winning more followers than was John (4:1–4), and that when Jesus learned this he left Judea for Galilee, going by way of Samaria.

The interest in Sabbath healing, made familiar by the many examples in the earlier gospels, brings the Fourth Gospel somewhat nearer the Synoptics. The incident is that of the sick man restored at the miraculous pool of Bethesda (5:2–18), and the crime is his carrying his mat, at Jesus' advice. Opposition is thus transferred to Jesus: "for this cause the Jews persecuted Jesus, because he did these things on the Sabbath." Furthermore, after Jesus' mystical reply to their [assumed] reproof, the narrative states that "for this cause the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only broke the Sabbath, but also called God his own father, making himself equal with God."

One of the infrequent Galilean locations for a section of this gospel includes one of its two references to Jesus in the synagogue. The Galilean locale is itself unusual, since in the Fourth Gospel Judea is Jesus' fatherland, the "own country" in which a prophet "has no honor" (4:43). The source again approaches the Synoptics in its report of the

feeding of the five thousand, although its primary interest is the teaching connected with the incident (6:1–14, 22–59). In the discourse in which the teaching appears the stage of opposition is much farther advanced than in the Synoptics. In this case there is no desire to make Jesus' utterances understandable; "the Jews" are pictured as incapable of grasping the meaning, to say nothing of being convinced. Indeed, the disparity of point of view is so advanced that Jesus speaks of "your fathers" in obvious distinction from his [heavenly] Father. Not unnaturally, the Jews contended with each other over the cryptic sayings.

From this point in the narrative the opposition is pictured as being so obvious that the lines are clearly drawn. Jesus walked in Galilee, not in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him (7:1). Nevertheless the Galilean activity is not described, and the Feast of Tabernacles finds Jesus in Jerusalem, at first secretly, although he was teaching. The divisions of the Jews alleged are interesting. It is stated first that "the Jews" sought him, then that "the multitudes" murmured about him, "some" saying that he was a good man, "others" that he led the multitude astray. But whatever the opinion, "no one spoke publicly about him, for fear of the Jews" (7:11f.).

The teaching is also interesting. The subject, as so often in the Synoptics, is the law. But whereas in the earlier traditions the discussion is of some such specific point, as fasting, the Sabbath, or divorce, here Jesus precipitates the question by bluntly contrasting his teaching, of which the source is God, with the law, whose source was Moses. "Did not Moses give you [*sic*] the Law? And no one from among you does the Law." Is there not an intended exclusion of Jesus from his hearers? The Sabbath law is cited as an example, and Jesus' defense of his own Sabbath-breaking is the fact that the law

sometimes requires circumcision on the Sabbath. Clearly all this is mere application of the principle which appears in the prologue, the dichotomy of Law and Favor.

As the narrative develops, the attempt is made to arrest Jesus. But of the multitude many believed in him (7:31). These are contrasted with the Pharisees, who, with the chief priests, sent officers to make the arrest (7:32). They failed, for Jesus continued speaking, and his message induced the question among the Jews, "Will he go to the dispersion of the Greeks and teach the Greeks"? (7:35). Then, on the last day of the feast, some are convinced that Jesus is a prophet, while others affirm that he is the Anointed. This led to confusion, so that a division arose in the multitude, some wished to have him arrested (7:44). The officers sent by the chief priests and the Pharisees returned to their superiors, admitting their failure. The Pharisees chided them, saying, "No one from among the chief priests believed in him, did he, nor from among the Pharisees"? They also pronounced a curse upon the multitude who did not know the law (7:47–49). Nicodemus reappears in the narrative with a feeble demurrer, but he is easily silenced (7:50–52).

The Pharisees again controvert Jesus as he makes his discourse upon the Light of the World (8:12–20). As they question his witness he speaks of them, contrasting their attitudes with his, and their law in obvious counter-reference to his Father. There is a perceptible extension of identification; Jesus has been speaking to "the Pharisees," he speaks to "them," and presently "the Jews" ask a question. The distinction of groups becomes blurred to the point of disappearance; the Pharisees and the Jews become interchangeable terms (8:22).

The phenomena of identification become nothing short of amazing in the next section (8:31–59), a discourse ad-

dressed to a group who are said to have believed. Although the discourse begins as addressed to "those Jews who had believed on him," the tenor of address so changes that these believers presently occupy the position usually ascribed to "the Jews," and they are pictured as making strange response to the teacher in whom they believed. The drift soon occasions the familiar "I" and "you" (plural); Abraham is referred to as their father and as though he were not an ancestor of Jesus; and when his hearers insist that their father is God, he retorts that they are of their father the devil. Not unnaturally, from this point the hearers are addressed as "the Jews"; they are called liars; and at the conclusion of the address they are said to have taken up stones to stone him. Clearly in the story the identifications are quite incidental; it is the familiar controversy between Jesus and "the Jews."

The Pharisees figure importantly as background for the story of the man born blind (9:1–39). Probably they are meant by the pronoun in the earlier references, but in any case "some of the Pharisees" insist that Jesus' Sabbath activity marks him as not a man of God. There was difference of opinion about this, however. In the examination of the man's parents it appears that their equivocation is caused by reason of fear, "for the Jews had already agreed that if anyone should confess him to be Anointed he should be excluded from the synagogue." They, it is insisted, are disciples of Moses. When Jesus finds the man and makes of him a disciple the alleged act, as is usual in the Fourth Gospel, becomes a parable, as he says, "For judgment I came into the world, that they who do not see may see, and that they who see may become blind." Those of the Pharisees who heard said, "Are we, too, blind"? Jesus replied, "If you were blind you would have no sin, but now you say 'We see'; your sin remains." It is questionable whether it is intended that

the Pharisees play more of a part than that of an item in the parable.

The effect of the allegory of the Good Shepherd was further division, "there arose a division among the Jews because of these words"; many said that Jesus had a demon, while others disagreed. "The Jews" asked to have their suspense ended, but as Jesus' answer amounted to a rebuff, "the Jews" again attempted to stone him (10:1–18, 19–39).

The Pharisees reappear in the story of the raising of Lazarus (11:1–40, 45–53). "Many of the Jews" who consoled the sisters witnessed the remarkable event, and, as the story says, many of them believed, but "some went away to the Pharisees and told them the things which Jesus had done." In response the chief priests and the Pharisees, baffled by Jesus' fame, gathered a council, thinking that if Jesus were let alone everyone would believe, and the Romans would come and take their place and nation. Caiaphas, who was high priest (in that year, the source quite incomprehensibly adds), broaches the plan to secure Jesus' death, and "from that day forth they took counsel that they might put him to death."

It may be, since the evangelist associates the Pharisees and the chief priests as a council, that he regards the group as the Sanhedrin. To be sure, Sadducees are not mentioned in the work. But it has already appeared that the phenomena of identification in the latest gospel themselves constitute a problem. In any case the author regarded the council of chief priests and Pharisees as seeking the death of Jesus. This statement is reiterated, and the source adds that Jesus no longer walked openly among the Jews, but with his disciples secluded himself. As Passover approached the people speculated whether he would appear, for "the chief priests and the Pharisees had given commandment that if anyone knew

where he was he should show it, so that they might take him" (11:57).

Jesus' coming to the Passover thus rapidly brings the consummation. The common people went out to see him, and their curiosity is in contrast with the attitude of the chief priests, who had determined upon Lazarus' death also, since because of him many believed. On the day of Jesus' entry into the city the people again went to meet him, and the Pharisees, seeing this, said among themselves, "You see how you prevail nothing; see! the whole world is gone after him" (12:9–19).

Some Greeks who had come to the feast sought access to Jesus (12:20–36a). This marks the climax of the gospel; Jesus' "hour," which it has repeatedly been said had not come, now arrives; it is time for his glory. He therefore makes his last public address (12:44–50), with the usual contrast of belief and unbelief. Nevertheless it is carefully pointed out that "even of the rulers many believed in him, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess." Indeed, it is the evangelist's view that the general unbelief was to be expected, since it had been predicted by an ancient prophet.

As the story turns to the privacy of Jesus' last evening, there is little reference to others. However, as the betrayer goes out Jesus says, "You shall seek me, but as I said to the Jews, where I go you cannot come" (13:33). This is the most specific reference in the section to the opposition; elsewhere the unfriendly force is "the world." Persecution of the disciples is predicted, and his own ill treatment is referred to at the hands of a group called only by a pronoun. But that the reference is to the Jews appears from the accompanying reference to "their law" (15:20–24, 25). It is predicted that the disciples shall be expelled from synagogues, and even murdered (16:2).

The groups responsible for Jesus' death are interestingly named. Judas' party consisted of "the cohort and officers from the chief priests and the Pharisees" (18:3); or, again, "the cohort and the officers of the Jews" (18:12). Jesus is said to have been taken to Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, who was high priest "in that year" (the second expression which apparently implies a yearly tenure), but the examination was made by Caiaphas. Jesus stated that he taught openly in the synagogues and in the temple, where all the Jews come together (18:20). The reference to continued use of the synagogue is important, since only one instance is given specific reference in the source.

As the scene moves to the Praetorium "they" do not enter, since entrance would cause defilement and consequent inability to participate in the Passover rites. Pilate obligingly goes out and advises them to judge Jesus according to their own law, but "the Jews" object that their law does not prescribe the death penalty. Pilate questions Jesus, and learns that it was Jesus' own nation and the chief priests who had delivered him up. In spite of his belief in Jesus' innocence he wavers when "the chief priests and the officers" reiterated their demand, and as "the Jews" insist that "we have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself a son of God." Jesus absolves Pilate from responsibility, saying that "he who delivered me to you has greater sin," and when Pilate again attempts to secure his release, "the Jews" raise the question of loyalty to the state. Finally they prevail, and Jesus is delivered to be crucified (18:28–19:15).

There is no mockery at the cross according to the Fourth Gospel, although the chief priests objected to the title which Pilate posted upon the gibbet. After the death "the Jews" requested the removal of the bodies of Jesus and his companions in death, since to leave them would violate law. This

done, one Joseph of Arimathea, "being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly, for fear of the Jews," with Nicodemus, entombs Jesus, although on account of the Preparation the full rites were not carried out.

As in Matthew, Jewish opposition is said to have continued after Jesus' death. The disciples on one occasion were said to be locked in a room "for fear of the Jews."

It is apparent that the picture of Jesus and the Pharisees in the latest gospel in several respects goes beyond those of the earlier sources, so far beyond, in fact, that the opposition between Jesus and the Pharisees is practically coincident with that between Jesus and "the Jews." On the whole it may be said that the Fourth Gospel, in its highly interesting modifications of the earlier traditions, represents Jesus and the Pharisees in a relation in which unfriendliness is not only much farther advanced, but is inclusive of several new features. Of special importance is the alleged association of the Pharisees with the groups which secured Jesus' death. This marks a complete departure from the Synoptic traditions. Another important datum is the objective attitude toward the Law which is ascribed to Jesus.

These items, however, are only conspicuous examples of the growth of traditions from the early to the latest organization of them. All indicia take their place in the stream of tradition. Such brief canvass as this clearly reveals contradiction and inconsistency as marking several stages in the organization of tradition; the relative position is merely greater in the latest Gospel.

PART II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITIONS

I

INTRODUCTION: LATER TRADITIONS OF EARLIER SITUATIONS

THE critical study of the sources shows that the presentation in the Gospels of the relation between Jesus and the Pharisees marks several stages in the development of the tradition. The earliest Gospel presents data which reflect already a certain point of the growth of Christian tradition; used as a source of the later Gospels, these data are taken and so utilized as to exhibit perceptible modifications. These later works, in turn, present still other data which manifest somewhat different aspects of the growth of the tradition. Obviously, there was a growth of tradition of Jesus and the Pharisees from the appearance of Mark to the period of the Fourth Gospel.

It is clear that the period of the production of the written Gospels is but a stage in the development of tradition whose beginning lay before and whose further growth may be traced in the later sources. Such a work as Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* illustrates the subsequent development. What may be said of the stages nearer the beginning? It is less obvious, but none the less true, that the Gospels mark only a part of the full course. They occupy a position which is an advance over earlier points of view, but their representations of the relations of Jesus and the Pharisees did not spring up fully formed. If a development may be noted be-

tween the points of view of Mark and the Fourth Gospel, it is entirely likely that there was an earlier development to produce the representation of Mark.

May the growth of Christian tradition of Jesus and the Pharisees be traced in the pre-Gospel periods? An answer to this question is rendered extremely difficult by the fact that for the earliest stages the later traditions have become so normative that they tend to inhibit the perception of the more nearly contemporary data. The confidence with which one approaches the situation of Paul, for example, is sometimes misplaced; with what timidity, then, does one investigate the pre-Pauline period! The difficulty is made the greater by the fact that some of the sources are later, while the representation of the later formulation has become almost, if not quite, taken for granted. The result is either that an attempt to interrogate the later tradition is resisted, or, worse still, the attempt will be largely subjective, since it deals with an already accepted formulation. Sufficient examples of both these situations are to be found even in recent critical studies of Acts, in which some of the best amount to little more than the subjective selection of certain data which appear to the critic to be reasonable, with the rejection of those which do not.

The fact is that the study of the earliest stage of the growth of Christianity is usually based upon some such use of the second volume of Luke-Acts as the chief source. Its point of view has become normative, so that even critical studies mark attempts to secure the basic substratum assumed to underlie the unhistorical accretions of the work. It has followed that even though a variety of apologetic interests are recognized in the work, its outline of the earliest days of the new movement is, on the whole, accepted. It is not clear why, when Acts has long been treated as the second of two

volumes of a single work, the objectivity which has characterized the best work upon the Gospel has not been carried to Acts. The question becomes the more acute when it is recognized that the point of view of the earlier work, long since known to have been controlled by several tendencious influences, is quite fully shared by the later.

The need for an objective treatment of the traditions of Acts is especially pressing in the matter of its description of the relations between early Christianity and Judaism, for in this matter the influence of the situations current at the time of the writing of the work manifestly colors its presentation. It is hardly to be expected that a work written at a time when the relations between the rival religious groups were such that a conscious differentiation is made will describe earlier events without some effect from its later point of view. If, for example, the force of the manner in which the Fourth Gospel habitually refers to "the Jews" is felt, and taken as an indication that this work was written under the influence of a particular point of view, the same force must be felt and similarly regarded as present in Acts, for the data are quite similar, as has been pointed out. This is but one illustration of the play of a number of such tendencies. To cite another, in Luke-Acts the purpose served by the narration of "resurrection" stories was met by the location of all such in Jerusalem. In other words, Luke-Acts had a purpose in altering the earlier Galilean locale, a purpose which was important in other matters.

For instance, a part of the purpose of Luke-Acts which was served by its location of resurrection appearances in Jerusalem also involved other considerations with reference to the city. Jerusalem is regarded by Luke-Acts as a sort of official "capital" of Judaism and of Christianity. It appears to be of importance to the work to show that Jesus had directed

his followers to remain in the city until the special endowment associated with Pentecost was imparted. Even after this, according to the work, divine direction compelled their residence in the city, so that they were led to offer their faith to their Jewish brethren. It is the purpose of Luke-Acts to show that the new movement began in this center of Judaism, and there was first offered to the people of Judaism. It is its purpose to show how Christianity was divinely prevented from remaining in Jerusalem, but that, once it was offered to the Jews and rejected, circumstances outside the control of the believers forced its offer to others, first to certain chosen ones, and later to groups who lived outside Judaism. Ultimately, Luke-Acts shows, divine revelation demanded the aggressive offer of the new movement to non-Jews, even to those far outside Palestine. Luke-Acts purposely sets out to show that Christianity had its beginning in the center of official Judaism, but was pushed steadily first to the periphery and then quite outside the bounds of Judaism, and finally by divine direction came to be designedly a gentile movement. Indeed, the work closes with a quotation from the Scriptures which was evidently used to show that in Christianity the old faith was altogether superseded.

This is the "theory" of Luke-Acts. It is one of the most successful points of view ever expressed by Christian literature. In the beginning of the modern critical study of the New Testament the so-called Tübingen school of critics, by their formulation, witnessed its pervasiveness. Few contemporary scholars exhibit complete independence of it. This is not merely because Acts is almost the sole source for a period of the history of early Christianity. It is not independence of the data of Luke-Acts which is meant, but independence of its theory. Yet it should be apparent that without such inde-

pendence the adequate understanding of early Christianity will not be had.

Even Acts is not altogether consistent in its application of its theory of the early history of Christianity, for it mentions the currency of the movement in such centers as Damascus and Ephesus without accounting for the manner in which it came there. In the case of Damascus this is especially telling, since in exception to the "theory" Christianity was present there during a period before its providential removal from Jerusalem. These data of Acts, and the earliest references of Paul, imply the currency of the new movement outside Jerusalem at early dates, and suggest that nascent Christianity may not have been so exclusively Judaistic as Acts would have its readers suppose, but that gentile Christianity may have been not only earlier than has usually been supposed but a much more natural phenomenon than is pictured by Acts.[1]

The usual point of view of the history of early Christianity is a close approximation of the theory of Luke-Acts: that the teaching of Jesus was implicitly universal, that this universalism was held in abeyance long enough to provide the Jews with the opportunity of discipleship, but that Jewish influence, so far as it was felt, was a deterrent to the fruition of the original genius of the movement. This fact precipitated the Judaistic controversy, which was settled by Paul's making the latent universalism explicit, with the consequent rise of gentile Christianity.

Such a point of view is simply the acceptance of a later tradition of the earlier situations. But once the later tradition is interrogated and seen to be organized about a con-

[1] Cf. Riddle, "Environment as a Factor in the Achievement of Self-Consciousness in Early Christianity," *Journal of Religion*, VII (1927), No. 2, 146–163.

sciously apologetic point of view, the available data of the earlier situations may be permitted to speak for themselves. Few seriously minded persons would read the statements about "the Jews" in the Fourth Gospel without discounting the apparent objectivity of the point of view there represented. Why should not the same care be applied in the reading of Acts? When one notes that its viewpoint with reference to "the Jews" is practically the same as that of the Fourth Gospel he is hardly likely to read the stories of the earlier situations without being conscious that they are colored by the standpoint of the time and circumstances of the author.

It is important that the testimony of Acts be regarded as later traditions of earlier situations, since it cannot be supposed that it depicts earlier scenes apart from the viewpoint which controlled the entire work. Luke-Acts shares the nature of historical composition, but its standard of historiography is not that of the unbiased and dispassionate understanding of previous situations which is the goal of modern historians. Its apologetic purpose is coming more and more to be noted, so that the data of any interest reflected in the work must be carefully scrutinized.

So far as the data concerning the Pharisees are concerned, an interesting situation obtains. References to them are few. They are pictured in relationship to the Christian movement quite differently from the Lukan Gospel's suggestions of their contacts with Jesus. It is essential that the unity of Luke-Acts be kept in mind: the same work which depicts the Pharisees usually as implacable opponents of Jesus represents them as occupying a subordinate place among the groups opposed to rising Christianity. Indeed, Luke-Acts goes farther; in the second volume it is the temple group, specifically the Sadducees, who oppose the disciples whose

Teacher was opposed by Pharisees. This marks an important shift in emphasis.

What appears to be the decisive factor is the tendency, which Acts shares with the Fourth Gospel, to lump all Jewish groups together and, without distinction, to refer all opposition to "the Jews." It is this tendency which marks the viewpoint of Luke-Acts as the product of a (relatively) late period in the growth of Christianity, and makes it necessary to keep in mind the possibility that the descriptions of earlier situations are made from the standpoint of the later consciousness.

As has been pointed out, another factor of importance is the "theory" of the work. As is plainly to be seen, Acts pictures Christianity as having begun, by divine direction, in the center of official Judaism, and as being led, by divine direction, to become a gentile movement only after it was repeatedly offered to Jews and as often refused. Even so, Acts refers to its presence in three important centers into which it had penetrated through influences other than those described as officially exercised through Jerusalem. As shall be shown presently, it is probable that these were not the only extra-Jerusalemite communities in which Christianity was current at an early date. Nevertheless it is a matter of the highest importance that the work bears this apparently unconscious witness to even these points of exception to what it represents as the otherwise consistent maintenance of a policy.

What this means is that early Christianity was from the earliest times current in gentile regions, and was thus subject to non-Jewish influences during those formative periods when Acts would have it supposed that it was solely Jewish in constituency and character. Now, if it be noted that the movement, at a time when its character as a gentile religion

was patently achieved (e.g., the first quarter of the second century), maintained a certain point of view toward Jews and Judaism (e.g., that exhibited in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch), it is entirely possible that a similar point of view obtained at earlier dates in circles where a gentile environment offered the social situation. If Acts is read critically it is not difficult to make such a notation; it is on the basis of a certain interest that the Jerusalemite character is emphasized. Now, if this interest was sufficient to cause the complete elimination of Galilean "resurrection appearances" from the Gospel traditions, it is entirely possible that in Acts the repeated emphasis upon the Jerusalemite character of the early phases of the beginning movement is conditioned by the same interest, rather than by the mere facts in the case.

In this connection the larger aspects of the phenomenon may be considered. It is impossible to escape the perception of Acts' interest in substituting a Jerusalemite for the Galilean milieu. This interest serves the larger purpose of the work, namely, to show the transformation of Christianity from a Jewish to a gentile movement. For, from the point of Jerusalemite Jews, the Galilean origin of Christianity was an insurmountable obstacle to its propagation. As Baldensperger says,[2] next to the cross itself no other feature was so objectionable. This and other such facts seem to have operated, with the result that Christianity obtained its currency and success in non-Jewish regions, where such facts were not particularly objectionable. Such was the case in the somewhat later situations, but, if Acts were the only source available, and if Acts had not included those innocent references to Damascus, Ephesus, and Alexandria, it would doubtless be supposed that such was not the case in the earliest situations.

Indeed, so long as Acts is read uncritically it is usual to

[2] *Revue de Theologie et Philosophie*, VIII (1920), 23.

take the testimony of its "theory" exactly to this effect. The result has been that with few exceptions it is generally supposed that Christianity was originally a Jewish movement, becoming gentile in character only after repeated efforts were made to win the Jews, and that, even after the gentile efforts were made, with tremendous success accruing, there were, as a sort of official central group, thousands of "Jewish-Christians" living in the holy city.

But if Acts is read critically, and its tell-tale references to the currency of the movement outside Jerusalem taken in connection with other data, such as those of the Pauline letters, this point of view is subject to heavy discount. To center attention upon these data permits the emergence of the possibility that, since there were features in nascent Christianity which were so objectionable to Jews, especially to Jerusalemite Jews, the movement obtained its earliest, as well as its ultimate, success in the non-Jewish localities, and was from the beginning a gentile, rather than a Jewish, cult.

Naturally this would affect the traditions of the relation of particular Jewish groups to the movement. The habit of not specifying groups, but of referring to "the Jews" is what might be expected. Indeed, from this point of view it is remarkable, not that the references to Galilean matters were suppressed, but that any such were allowed to remain at all. This factor raises important questions, as the notation of the same tendency is carried to the Gospels and to the experience of Jesus. To be sure, both Luke and the Fourth Gospel do largely transfer the scene of Jesus' activity from Galilee to Judea; but even so, the retention of so much of the Galilean tradition is remarkable, as also is the apparent return to the Galilean locale for one of the "resurrection appearances" of the Fourth Gospel (in the form which includes the epilogue). However this may be, the desire on the

part of Acts to confine the growth of Christianity to Jerusalem and Jerusalemite control is an important interest and one which marks a modification effected by deliberate purpose.

The importance of the fact that the self-consciousness of Christianity was obtained in the gentile environment (i.e., that "the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch") is hardly overstressed.[3] The fact is established without appeal to the testimony of Acts, although the references to the presence of Christianity in Damascus, Ephesus, and Alexandria are significant corroborations. It is a fact which cannot have been without extreme significance in crystallizing the apologetic point of view of this source, since there is obvious correlation between the fact that the opposition was between gentile Christianity and Judaism and the failure of Acts usually to specify particular groups, but rather to speak of "the Jews."

When the narrative of Acts is approached with the consciousness of these facts it is not remarkable that it has so little to say about the Pharisees. To be sure, they appear as associated in the opposition to Paul and in the events connected with his arrest. They appear as zealous for the law, and thus attempting so to control growing Christianity as to make all Christians amenable to their legalistic interpretations. However, they are not pictured as such implacable opponents of the new movement as they were alleged in Luke to be of Jesus. This position in Acts is given to the Sadducees.

But this should not be taken, if one desires to arrive at the facts in the case, as the sufficient understanding of the situation, for in this matter it is exactly as was the case with

[3] Cf. Riddle, "Environment as a Factor in the Achievement of Self-Consciousness in Early Christianity," *Journal of Religion*, VII (1927), No. 2, 146–163.

Paul: the crux of the matter was the Torah, and Acts, in placing over against each other the legalistic Jews and the non-legalistic (gentile) Christians, is, without naming them, arraying in opposition the Pharisees and the Christians, for it was the Pharisees who gave Judaism its particular character as the religion of Torah. It is the failure of Acts to distinguish, rather than its habit to specify, which makes its data what they are.

Thus considered, it follows also that the presentation of Acts is based upon the point of view maintained by its author in the later years of the first century, a point of view achieved in response to the character of Christianity as a gentile movement, and reflected in the work as a readily detected purpose of defense.

May any suggestions be made as to what actually were the earlier situations? In the first place it should be clear that Christianity developed from an early date in gentile localities. Any believers who were Jews continued to be Jews, so that self-consciousness developed in the gentile groups. It is time to act upon the perception that "Jewish-Christianity" and the "Jewish-Christian" are creatures, not of fact, but of the "theory" of Luke-Acts. Christianity grew up in gentile communities with the character known to have obtained among other such religious groups. Growing in this manner, its earliest years were spent without special relation to Jews and Judaism, so that it was not until it had considerable popular currency that it came into relation with Judaism.

But as relation came, it was conditioned by several factors specially operative by reason of the fact that its relation was with Hellenistic, rather than with Palestinian, especially Jerusalemite, Judaism. In these situations such factors as, for example, the Galilean origin of the movement, the emphasis of apocalypticism by certain groups, or the lack of

loyalty to Jewish institutions, were no embarrassment. Galilean origin was of small moment to native Hellenists, apocalypticism did not characterize the movement as a whole; and less rather than greater strictness in the matter of loyalty to such Jewish institutions as Torah and temple was not uncommon among many of the extra-Palestinian Jews.

Thus Christianity grew up in gentile environments as other oriental cults are known to have grown, so that it enjoyed a degree of popular currency before the necessity for defense became apparent. Now, in this matter it is known that among the Pauline communities at least the gentile Christian groups were subject to control from no other source than heavenly spirit; if this contradicts Acts it should cause the modification of Acts' "theory." The matters of relation to Jewish groups and to Judaism occurred at such times and under such circumstances that knowledge of them is to be obtained from other sources rather than from Acts.

II

THE BASIS OF TRADITION IN THE PAULINE COMMUNITIES

SO FAR as the traditional attitude toward the Pharisees is to be observed in literary Christianity, the earliest form of the tradition is to be found in the extant letters of Paul. A fortunate feature of this fact is that these sources are not merely literary, but reflect an experience; Paul was himself a Pharisee, so that the earliest literary witnesses to the relation between the Christian movement and the Pharisees are the product of one who had been a member of that group. Not only was Paul of Jewish descent and of Pharisaic loyalty, but he once solemnly affirmed that in his allegiance to Judaism he was unusually zealous, in this surpassing the standard of his fellow-countrymen. An illustration of his zeal is offered by his opposition to the growing Christian movement; without appealing to the data in Acts, in which appear the dramatic details of his persecuting experiences, it is not to be overlooked that by his own witness Paul was one of those Pharisees who opposed Christianity, so that his experience should offer much information of this attitude.

To be sure, it is doubtful that Paul's experience of Judaism was a normal one. Unfortunately, the study of Paul made by modern scholarship has been almost altogether on the basis of a literary interest, to the complete neglect of the

psychological data. It is strange that while psychological study of the personality of Jesus has been made, in spite of the extreme difficulty presented by the condition of the sources, none such has been made of Paul, although in his case the sources are of an intimate and revealing character and thus readily lend themselves to such investigation. It is to be hoped, now that the literary approach has been exploited to the limit of its resources, that the psychological method, which offers the hope of the greatest advance, may presently be utilized.

Such application of psychological method as has been made seriously raises the question whether Paul's temperament made a normal experience of Judaism possible. As is well known, Paul's experience led him to believe that he was pronounced acquitted not by means of works of law, but by hearing of faith. He generalized from his experience that every person who was pronounced acquitted enjoyed this status only by this means. Thus he played over against each other Law and Favor as opposing forces. To give him full credit of sincerity of purpose, to accept his affirmation that he was unusually zealous in his earlier faith, and to take this to mean that he made every effort to achieve the standard of the law, requires one also to note that he abandoned his effort and found satisfaction in the experience of the faith which formerly he disliked so much as to persecute it. This furnishes a basis for the opinion that his transfer of loyalty was caused by a temperamental incompatibility on the one hand and full congeniality on the other. The seriousness balanced with serenity which characterized the normal Jewish experience does not appear in Paul, but rather a morbid conviction that the activity demanded by the teaching is impossible of performance, since the physical basis of behavior does not permit the carrying of the wish to realization. At any rate,

Paul's sincerest attempt to realize the Pharisaic standard led not only to a confession of failure, but, more surprising still, to the abandonment of the point of view in favor of the formerly despised Christian position.

In brief, the psychologist would say that Paul's transfer of loyalty was caused by temperamental instability; the extremity of effort to realize the norm of Judaism led only to the perception of failure which it was next to impossible to admit, with the result that a strain of latent sadism led him to push his effort at the realization of his desire to the point of the persecution of a rival group. This activity, however, only made the more certain the incompatibility of the man to his loyalty, so that with that swing to another extreme which was characteristic of Paul (the psychologist calls this ambivalence) the satisfaction formerly sought in a rigorous interpretation of Judaism was actually found in the emotional values of the new faith.

While it is of no obvious value to speak the psychological language, the method of the psychologist does assist in the understanding of Paul as a person. His letters are exactly of that type which admits of psychological analysis. In them the play of emotion which was so characteristic of Paul is plain, and, fortunately, Paul does not hesitate to write frankly of matters which not only were relevant for the special purposes of his letters, but which also portray himself. It is this fact which makes it possible to understand his point of view toward Judaism, not merely as an intellectual attitude but as the result of vital experience.

It is by constantly relating Paul's attitude toward Judaism and his efforts in the organization of Christian activity to his own experience that his influence in the shaping of the character of Christianity will be understood. It should be kept in mind that the Pauline communities were not Chris-

tianity as the whole, and that Paul's opinions were not necessarily final even at these points. Yet, since in a particular sense Pauline Christianity is largely represented in Christian literature, and since it was current in some of the strategic centers which later became of outstanding importance, the formulation in the Pauline communities of tradition concerning the Pharisees is not unimportant.

The point of view has been advanced that the Christian movement in the days before Paul became one of its exponents was in the most important sense gentile in character. Such groups or individuals among Jewish communities, even in Jerusalem, who were "believers" or "disciples" probably were not differentiated from Judaism; if they added to the usual Jewish tradition a belief in the messiahship of Jesus or certain teachings which were alleged to come from him, this did not necessitate a separation from Jews. The individuality of the movement, and its ultimately achieved self-consciousness, came from the growth of groups of adherents in gentile surroundings. As such the advance of the cult was doubtless slow and gradual, with the winning of members by processes which were in the initial stages without the intellectual element by which polemic is precipitated.

Whatever was the nature of Christianity in the early days, it is essential to recognize that there was gentile Christianity before the work of Paul. It is usually supposed that gentile Christianity was the product of Paul, but this supposition is being replaced by the counter-proposition that Paul was a product of gentile Christianity.[1] The genius of Paul doubtless operated to the impetus of the more rapid growth and extension of the movement, with the result that for those

[1] Cf. Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity*, p. 110; Lake, *Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity*, p. 45; Schmidt, *Die Stellung des Apostles Paulus im Urchristentum*, p. 11.

parts of gentile Christianity for which there is abundant information, the stamp of his influence was deeply felt, but the cult had grown to some considerable extent before he came upon the scene. A movement of which the importance is felt sufficiently for it to be persecuted obviously has some currency, and if, as appears to be likely, Paul's activity in opposing it was expended in the gentile localities rather than in Judea,[2] the importance of this element in the movement was the greater.

Limiting one's approach to the Pauline sources, the "conversion" of Paul loses those dramatic details which are told, with certain inconsistencies, by Acts. Paul refers to this in a connection of which the main purpose did not necessitate the introduction of details. He says, when making clear that his gospel was not learned from human sources, but was obtained by divine impartation, that back of it lay his experience of Judaism:

> You heard of my manner of life in time past in Judaism, how I was with an excess of zeal persecuting the church of God and how I was laying her waste, and how I went beyond many of my generation among my fellow countrymen in Judaism, being more exceedingly zealous for the tradition of my forefathers. But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb and called me through his favor, to reveal his son in me in order that I might evangelize him among the nations, immediately I was not conferring with flesh and blood, nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me, but, on the other hand, I went down to Arabia, and again I returned to Damascus (Gal. 1:13–17).

Since from what appears elsewhere Paul insisted that, just as others had, so he had "seen" the Lord, it is likely that what he refers to here is an ecstatic vision of Jesus as risen. If so, it is significant (as it is consonant with abundant facts

[2] Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, pp. 92f.; cf. Heitmüller, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XIII (1912), 330.

of his later life) that Paul's Christian experience began in ecstasy. But if this be regarded as an unwarranted inference, Paul is explicit in a statement which is of the utmost importance, i.e., that God's revelation of his son in him was for the purpose of Paul's evangelization of this son among the Gentiles. He also solemnly affirms that the "gospel" which he obtained was not "according to man, for neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it" (Gal. 1:11f). On the contrary, it came by revelation. Even after his experience of Jesus he did not discuss anything with other representatives of the cult, but, aside from a brief visit to Jerusalem, for fourteen years he worked, supposedly in his evangelization of the Gentiles, in the regions of Syria and Cilicia (Gal. 1:21–24).

These are data of extreme significance. So far as Paul was an exponent of Christianity he insists that his particular gospel was not acquired from other Christian leaders. As he puts it, it was not a human product at all, but a matter of divine revelation. For a number of years—at least fourteen—he worked without relation to individuals or groups in Jerusalem. What was the degree of success is not stated, but it will be recalled that this was the period in which Acts says the disciples were in Antioch first called Christians. It is not intended to suggest a connection of the Pauline and the Antiochene work mentioned in Acts, but merely to call attention to the gentile and Syrian locale mentioned by both sources. The importance of this fourteen years of endeavor cannot be overstated; even if the result in the development of Christianity was not great, the influence upon Paul must have been tremendous. It was fourteen years of effort during which the cult had at least that measure of growth which is back of the maturity of any person or institution. It was fourteen years of its early life in which its gentile character was un-

questioned. If Paul significantly differs from Acts in his denial of relation between his work and Jerusalem, it bespeaks a situation in which Paul, rather than Acts, must be followed, at least in so far as Paul speaks of work which was under his own direction.

After these years of the propagation of his new faith among Gentiles, in response to "revelation," as he puts it, Paul made a journey to Jerusalem, accompanied by Barnabas and Titus. On this occasion he "laid before them the gospel which I preach [note the tense] among the Gentiles, but privately before them of repute, lest perchance I should run or had been running in vain" (Gal. 2:2f). The context makes it clear that gentile Christianity was discussed. Clearly it had been Paul's habit to receive Gentiles as believers without requiring them to become circumcised (i.e., join the Jewish race) or to observe the requirements of the Mosaic law. Apparently this had been his method during the entire course of his activity, so that it cannot be other than significant that it was not until so late that the practice was submitted to discussion. Even now, as Paul represents it, there was no change in his policy. To be sure, certain "false brothers" were "smuggled in" to "spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus," but Paul insists that to them "we did not give way in subjection, not for an hour" (2:3–5). Evidently these false brothers had attempted as a test to force the circumcision of Titus, but Paul reports that in this they were unsuccessful. The outcome of the discussion was that "they who were of repute imparted nothing to me, but on the other hand, these, seeing that I had been intrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision, just as Peter of the circumcision, and when they saw the favor that was given me, James and Cephas and John, those reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we

should go to the Gentiles, and they to the circumcision" (2:6–10).

The testimony of this source, taken by itself, is clear. Paul states that as his continued habit during a term of years he had worked among non-Jews, not requiring his believers to join the Jewish race or to observe the Mosaic Torah. It was with no thought that he should alter this practice that he took the opportunity to discuss it in Jerusalem; he went in response to an ecstatic urge. He discussed his method with prominent leaders in Jerusalem, and, although certain persons whom he did not regard as important objected to his practice, James, Cephas (Peter?), and John agreed that it was perfectly proper, and that while they (Peter is specially mentioned) evangelized Jews, Paul should continue his work (supposedly in his usual manner) among the Gentiles. The test case which was raised, i.e., the attempt to force the circumcision of Titus, resulted in the victory of Paul's point of view. It was not required of Gentiles to join the Jewish race.

It is only when the statements of Paul are read in the light of the statements of Acts 15 that counsel is darkened, for so long as these two sources are read with the purpose of harmonizing their statements and purposes, confusion is the inevitable result. Acts states that the "council" was precipitated by the questions raised as certain men went from Judea to Antioch and insisted that unless the Antiochenes were circumcised after the custom of Moses they could not be saved, so that a group went to Jerusalem to lay the question before the apostles and elders. The legalistic viewpoint was pressed by certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed, and, after thorough discussion, the liberal attitude was advocated by Peter and a compromise suggested by James was adopted: while gentile believers were not required to join the Jewish

race, they were expected to observe certain rules which were submitted in a letter. Acts reports that the Antiochenes readily adopted this policy, as did other Gentiles elsewhere. But Acts also states that soon after the decision was reached Paul actually did cause Timothy to be circumcised.

It does not seem that if these are two accounts of the same event they may possibly be reconciled. On the other hand it appears that the report of Acts is a later depiction of an earlier situation, described from the standpoint which obtained in the writer's group when the work was written. Paul's statements, on the contrary, are not only nearly contemporary, but appear under his solemn affirmation that he is relating strictly the truth. The conclusion is inevitable: in the Pauline communities believers were not required to join the Jewish race nor to observe the Mosaic Torah.

This is not to say that the Pauline communities were formed altogether without content of teaching which may be classified as Jewish. On the contrary, what is usually taken as Paul's earliest letter demonstrates quite the opposite. He recalls to the Thessalonian believers how "you turned from idols to God, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his son from heaven, whom he raised from among the dead, Jesus, who delivers us from the coming wrath" (1 Thess. 1:9f). It is obvious that this representative message is an adaptation of the typical Jewish polemic against idolatry, the advancement of a Jewish conception of God, and the formulation of a message of the lordship of Jesus with such messianism, ideas of life after death, and apocalyptic eschatology as were current in certain Jewish circles. But were the question asked, what evidence is there that Paul's utilization of Jewish teaching included the circumcision of the believer and the obligation to observe the Torah? there is no answer. If also the theoretical consideration were raised, what would

have been the appeal of such a message to a Jewish public, again the answer is not readily favorable. It may be maintained that some Jews made the identification of Jesus as apocalyptic Messiah, but two things are quite evident: the Christian propaganda of the messiahship of Jesus was generally unsuccessful among Jews, with the result that ultimately almost complete failure in this matter is well known, and, conversely, Gentiles offered the more fruitful field for such effort, and made much the greater response.

Nor is it desired that attention should be diverted from the plain references to communities of believers among the Jews. There is no questioning such a community in Jerusalem. Paul explicitly mentions churches in Judea (1 Thess. 2:14, Gal. 1:22). Doubtless in his gentile communities there were not a few of Jewish race and custom. But what is held to be indicated by these groupings is that the individuality and the self-consciousness of Christianity were achieved by and in the gentile communities, and that the alignment of the Jewish believers was actually with Judaism. The point is that Christianity, when it reached the state of growth that it might be called such, was not connected with Judaism either racially or by the observance of Torah. While there were some identified with it who as Jews had already been circumcised and who kept Torah, it was not required of gentile believers to do so. If there were those who, having previously been circumcised and observing the requirements of Torah, added to their fund of Jewish teaching those teachings of the new movement (such as the identification of Jesus as apocalyptic Messiah, his resurrection from among the dead, etc.) these persons were not necessarily by this addition separated from Judaism. They did not cease to be Jews and become Christians instead. They were Jews.

It should be recognized that the degree to which the

Torah was kept was not a criterion of the Jewishness or the Christianity of a person. Being a Jew was primarily a social matter, so that when a non-Jew became a proselyte he became, not a hyphenated national, but a Jew. It may not be said that one who kept the whole Torah was a Jew, while another who kept part and omitted part was not. It is well known that there was variability at this point among Jewish groups; not all observed the requirements of Torah with the same degree of strictness, and, since the recognition of norms differed locally and by groups, variation was common. The conclusion is not academic, but vital, that when Paul fought for the freedom of gentile believers from circumcision and the observance of Torah he was, whether consciously or unconsciously, bringing into being a new cult. The Jews recognized this, whether or not Paul did.

These matters should be the more evident as Paul's statement of significant developments in Antioch is noted (Gal. 2:11–14). When Cephas came to Antioch Paul resisted him face to face, because he stood condemned. While Cephas was there, with no one to say him nay, he ate with Gentiles, but when certain persons of James' group came from Jerusalem to Antioch he withdrew from his previous practice and separated himself from gentile associations, his actions being prompted from "fear" of these Jews. Paul saw that this behavior was not "according to the gospel," and consequently reproved Cephas, asking him why, since he, a Jew, lived as Gentiles do, he was thus compelling Gentiles to Judaize? This was hypocrisy, he insisted, and it was sufficiently compelling that even Barnabas was carried away from his previous habit by it.

If Paul's statements are taken as he intended, a revision of the common idea of Peter likewise becomes necessary. Consider Peter, "energized to the gospel of the circumci-

sion," agreeing to a division of labor on the basis that Paul was to go to Gentiles, he to Jews, in a gentile environment becoming so "liberal" that he even ate with Gentiles! Peter, the apostle to the Jews, evangelizing Corinth, and becoming the traditional "bishop" of Rome. How can he be the Peter who, as the representative of Petrine, has been regarded as the opponent of Pauline Christianity? It is one of those extremely acute observations of Lake and Foakes Jackson that this Tübingen picture of Peter is an impossibility, since he, no less than Paul, was actually a representative of the Hellenistic gospel.[3] It was not Peter's non-observance of the dietary laws which Paul regarded as hypocrisy, but his inconsistency in altering his habit out of regard for those stricter than himself. This, Paul insists, was not walking uprightly according to the truth of the gospel.

Nothing can be plainer in the letters of Paul than his consistent identification of the values of the new religion in the aspect of Favor rather than Law. Nothing can be more explicit than his insistence that one is not pronounced acquitted by means of works of law, but only by the hearing of faith. It is clear that while much of the content of Christian teaching in the Pauline communities is Jewish in character, the cult itself is thoroughly gentile.

If this were questioned at all, the witness of an explicit statement should be sufficient answer. When Paul had evangelized the district of the northeast Mediterranean sufficiently thoroughly that he might say that the Gospel had been preached fully from Jerusalem to Illyricum, so that he has no more place in those parts, and when he is looking to so distant a point as Spain for his further activity, he wrote a letter which appears to have a less immediate and practical

[3] Foakes Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I, Prolegomena I, p. 312.

purpose than those others which have been preserved, a letter which thus gives a more reasoned and deliberate consideration of points which interest him. Among these matters he discusses one which, he says, causes him much anguish (Romans 9–11). It is the apparent rejection of the good news by his fellow-Jews. It appears that the rejection is practically unanimous. Yet Paul sees the event as quite under providential direction; the rejection opened the way to the evangelization of the Gentiles. Paul hopes that now that they are evangelized God will soften the heart of Israel so that they, too, will respond, and all the world be saved. But at present the Gentiles are responsive, while the Jews are obdurate.

It thus appears that Paul's efforts developed a series of communities in which the cult life was quite un-Jewish. Characteristics which included not merely a certain attitude toward the law, but which obtained in specific matters, such as Sabbath observance, dietary manners, and circumcision, became habituated to the point where their un-Jewish quality became unmistakable. Naturally the point arrived when they were recognized as un-Jewish, so that it was necessary to justify them in the face of question. The necessity for defense occasioned the generalization of existing practices as norms, and the comparison with Judaism effectively laid a basis for anti-Pharisaism in the Pauline communities.

The attitudes which grew into anti-Pharisaism developed indirectly but with readily definable course. Basic to all was the experience of Paul himself, his experience of Jesus which convinced him that one is pronounced acquitted, not by means of works of law, but by faith of Jesus Christ. This experience he generalized: inasmuch as he had tried with utter sincerity to realize the standard of Torah and failed, no one could succeed, consequently it was no one's duty to attempt it. As he said, he died to law, that he might live to

God, and this relationship was one which should be universal; it was the faith of Christ which led to life, while the Law led to death. Christ was an end of Law to all who believed. This attitude is obviously un-Jewish. Indeed, it is the negation of Judaism. Now, one who understands the attitude of Paul on the one hand, and Judaism (especially Pharisaic Judaism) on the other hand, sees that when Paul is attacking the law, although he does not mention the Pharisees, but seems to be opposing a Jewish position as such, he is actually in opposition to the conception of Torah which was the particular property of the Pharisees, so that to attack this position is tantamount to the attack of the point of view of the Pharisees.[4] Since this was the line of the development in Pauline Christianity, Pauline Christianity was essentially anti-Pharisaic, so that, although there is not in the Pauline letters any direct polemic against the Pharisees, the attitude was one which required only articulation to be quite explicit.

The crux of the matter was Paul's teaching of the law as against the teaching of the Pharisees about the Torah. As one progresses the farther in the understanding of both Paul and the Pharisees this matter becomes the clearer: although Paul had been a Pharisee, and although he carried into his Christian experience and work several items of Pharisaic lore, at the heart of it he was quite un-Pharisaic. This is proved by the fact that Paul's conception of Torah is adequately expressed by the Greek *νόμος* (which would be hopelessly inadequate to express the Pharisaic conception),[5] and the fact that he saw in law, not teaching, but multitudinous minutiae of individual commandments. These facts also illustrate the fundamental incompatibility which made his change of loyalty so easy for Paul, although such a change

[4] Herford, *The Pharisees*, p. 212.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

has proved to be wholly impracticable for the great number of normal Jews. It follows that to the extent to which the Pauline attitude toward the law became current, it laid the basis for an attitude which, when articulated, readily came to express bitter animosity to the Pharisees.

Doubtless the reason for the success of Pauline Christianity was its propagation in gentile environments. The ease with which Oriental cults were popularized in the West is a matter well known in the light of contemporary study. The correspondence between Christianity and contemporary Graeco-Roman cults is also well known, and this goes far to explain the ease with which Christianity secured its success. In this side of the case Paul's Hellenism was a most fortunate, as it was a most effective, factor. If the future of the new cult lay in the West, as the facts presently proved, it was indeed fortunate that it found an exponent who was of Jewish birth, but who had some appreciation of the religious patterns which were usual in the Western world. The fact of gentile environment also helps to account for the late date at which the implicit conflict with Judaism became explicit. Those years between the "conversion" of Paul and the time when the distinction from Judaism became apparent were important for the steady growth of the religion which began as an obscure sect and within four centuries was the only allowed religion of the Empire.

The growth of Pauline Christianity was sufficient, in the space of time between Paul's conversion and the development of the situation which he discusses in the letter to the Romans, to bring into being a number of religious communities covering extensive territory in the general region of the Aegean and the north-east Mediterranean lands. Furthermore, through the means of the Roman postal system those communities came to possess connection and interrelation,

not to say unity. Communication between groups was such that the little letter of the recommendation of Phoebe (Romans 16), carrying the greetings of several friends between two groups, is an example which would point, if the practice was general, to a remarkable sense of the association of the Christians of the different groups. To use the term of the sociologist, the use of the letter is in itself the proof of the existence of the secondary group relation among Christians.

It is not to be supposed that there was complete harmony and unanimity of outlook on the part of the widely separated individuals of the churches, but that there was general relationship and understanding is not to be doubted. If it is fair to speak at all of "Pauline Christianity" it is also not to be doubted that Paul's view of the law and the matter of joining the Jewish race was generally held in these communities. Doubtless Paul's organization and expression of his views were individual; it is hardly to be supposed that his disciples would have been able to state his principles as readily as he did. Nevertheless the principles stood as the result of a widespread practice, so that the practice was current, even though its basic ideas were not so energetically expounded by the followers as by the leader.

Thus there was in the widespread Pauline communities a generally held basis for anti-Jewish, or, more specifically, anti-Pharisaic, polemic. This attitude, though latent, was none the less real. If the practice of the Christian societies was in sharp distinction from Jewish custom it naturally would not require much in the way of efficient cause to bring into being the necessary justification of the practice.

Such justification of un-Jewish practice is not infrequently made by Paul. Most important was the matter of circumcision, already discussed. Another important example is the question of the Sabbath; this Paul discussed in the

heated letter to the Galatians, who had already begun this Jewish practice. Still other points were raised by those who were in doubt about dietary customs. In all these Paul's teaching was un-Jewish, so that it is a ready inference that the common practice was still more un-Jewish. It must be emphasized that the specific character as un-Jewish was exactly at that point which in the Jewish customs of the day had been worked out and made current by the Pharisees. In other words, the aspect of the Torah to which Paul reacted so negatively was that of Halachah, the Torah on its preceptive side, so that his antinomianism was essential anti-Pharisaism.

To be sure, the anti-Pharisaism of the Pauline Christians, or of Paul, was latent. The Christian movement was still in the elemental stages of expansion, so that the time for any theoretical organization of its point of view was not yet reached. To use a figure, Christianity was still in the adolescent stage; fully self-conscious, but not yet adult. Any organized social attitude requires a certain basis in growth, and in the life of a social group such an attitude as that of defense or of the attack of another group requires in addition a certain intellectualization, which naturally is not present at an early stage of growth.

The few hints of anti-Jewish polemic in the Pauline letters hardly mark exception to such a statement. To be sure, it is in perhaps the earliest letter that explicit mention is made of Jewish opposition. Paul wrote to the Thessalonians reminding them that his entrance to them was through suffering and shameful treatment, as had been the case at Philippi; he had preached the Gospel of God in much conflict (I Thess. 2:1f.). He is conscious that both the Judean and these Thessalonian brothers had suffered, the latter from their own countrymen, the former from the Jews, who, Paul

says, killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove the evangelists out, and do not please God, but are contrary to all men, forbidding Paul to speak to the Gentiles that they may be saved (2:14–16). The reference to persecution by their own countrymen makes it probable that the similar statement in the second Thessalonian letter (1:4ff.) does not imply Jewish opposition.

It is different in the situation basic to the letter to the Galatian churches, although in this case the opposition is of another source; Paul's anti-Jewish polemic, such as it was, in this case was with himself as aggressor; the Galatians were not persecuted by Jewish teachers, but rather were charmed by them, so that the believers are already keeping the Sabbath and are seriously considering becoming circumcised. Paul is on the initiative, but he does not go beyond the sanctions common to argument and persuasion. It is only when he cries out, "Who hindered you that you should not obey the truth?" that he approaches polemic, and when he makes the extreme statement, "I would that they who upset you would emasculate themselves," that he uses ridicule and irony to prove his point (Gal. 5:7, 12). Yet he speaks of persecution; he himself is persecuted, and insists that those who are trying to compel the circumcision of the believers do so in order that they might not be persecuted because of the cross of Christ (5:11, 12). In such a connection it is natural that Paul's argument should be the most vehement that is anywhere exhibited, so that he becomes extreme in his statements: "I say to you that if you receive circumcision Christ will profit you nothing. Every man who receives circumcision is a debtor to do the whole Law. You are brought to nothing from Christ, you who would be pronounced acquitted by Law" (5:2–4). "Even they who receive circumcision do not themselves keep the Law" (6:13).

The Tübingen school found in the divisions of the Corinthian church one which was thought to be "Petrine" or "Jewish" Christianity. This hypothesis has served its day, for more adequate knowledge has removed its basis. It is more natural to take the opposition mentioned in I Corinthians (4:11) as that which is the common lot of the proponents of all new cults. So far from anti-Jewish polemic being the theme of the letter, the matter is quite the opposite; the Greek character of the Corinthians, as well as the Jewish character of Paul's teaching, is obvious in Paul's attempt to make Greeks, who thought in terms of immortality, entertain the idea of the resurrection of the body.

In the so-called Second Letter to the Corinthians, Paul's references to the beatings which he received at the hands of the Jews and to the perils from his race (11:24–26) are indubitably relevant data; but again, these he seems to regard as the expected difficulties which his life as an evangelist inevitably brings. It is to be noted that these references are balanced by corresponding mention of sufferings and perils from others; Paul is neither complaining of Jewish persecution nor engaging in anti-Jewish polemic.

In the longer and more coolly developed letter to the Romans Paul exhibits a detailed working out of his conviction that the just person lives by faith, with the coincident discussion of the futility of supposing that one may be pronounced acquitted by means of works of law. He betrays a heightened consciousness of Israel as a distinct entity, and argues with spirit his point of view toward law, with the thought so based and directed that it is a highly effective bit of anti-Pharisaism. But it is not articulate anti-Pharisaism; there is no polemic. Indeed, one of the main problems of the letter is the pain caused Paul by the unbelief of his fellow-Jews. Paul appears to be unconscious of the implications of his position;

he is nonplussed at the fact that the Gospel, which as he has consistently preached it means the end of the Torah, has been almost completely rejected by Jews. Even yet he hopes that they will turn and accept it.

Perhaps the most effective proof of Paul's unconsciousness of the implication of his position is the fact that he proposes to visit Jerusalem. To be sure, he looked with misgivings to the event, and requested that his readers "agonize with him" in prayer that he may be delivered from them that are disobedient in Judea (15:30 f.), but he is nevertheless unshaken in his decision to go. From the perspective of a later date it seems remarkable that Paul should have thought it possible to survive such an experience; indeed, so close to the time as the composition of Acts the clearer perception was evident, as is shown by Acts' skilful use of presentiment and prediction. But Paul either did not correctly gauge the situation, or thought it his duty to go.

It is in the "later epistles" that the hints of anti-Jewish polemic are more significant. They are not many, but they contrast with their absence in other letters. For example, Paul felt it necessary to warn the Philippians to "beware of the dogs, beware of the evil workers, beware of the 'concision'" (Phil. 3:2). Here he sarcastically speaks of circumcision as a mutilation, with unmistakable contempt. He contrasts the point of view of these persons who are to be avoided with the correct one; he worships by God's spirit; they glory in the flesh. In immediate connection he is impelled to mention his own life as one which would, if he chose, bear comparison with these others: "if any other man seems to have confidence in the flesh, I may even more; circumcised on the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the clan of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, as touching the Law a Pharisee, as touching zeal, persecuting the church, as touching the

righteousness which is in the Law, found blameless" (Phil. 3:4–6). There is in this statement of Paul's, and in the context, a polemic which is far in advance of that found in the earliest letters. It is evidently intended as anti-Jewish throughout, since subsequent reference to the law would be irrelevant otherwise. Whether the anti-Jewish reference goes as far as that to those who are "enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is perdition, whose god is the belly, whose glory is in their shame, who attend to earthly things" (Phil. 3:19) is not certain, but likely.

The problems of the materials of the letter to the Colossians, as well as the literary relationships, are perplexing, but plainly the note of anti-Jewish polemic appears. Here, as in Philippians, Paul makes the contrast between the relation mediated by circumcision and that won by the Christian way. Referring to Jesus, he goes on to say, "in whom you were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ, having been buried with him in baptism, wherein you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from among the dead. And you, being dead through your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, you he made alive together with him" (Col. 2:11 ff.). But the attitude, which now seems to be Paul's, which is the absolute negation of the national basis of Judaism, appears in the individualism which starkly contrasts with the social unit of Judaism. After urging the maintenance of a certain standard of character, he points out that the standard is that of the "new man, that is being renewed to knowledge after the image of him who created him, where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, slave, freeman; but on the contrary, Christ is all and in all" (Col. 3:10f.). Among the social attitudes of the

early Christians none is more interesting than their individualism, that attitude by which the value of every person was such as to invalidate every nationalism. It goes without saying that this attitude was the negation of Judaism, since with it would go such dear values as the mission of Israel as chosen people, the function of Torah, and the separateness which, taken in his own meaning, was a particular interest of the Pharisee. That the Christianity of this letter was non-national is evident; but so far as the references to Jew and circumcision are concerned, it is more than a non-national attitude, but one in which there is a pronounced anti-Judaism.

Doubtless the data of Colossians which seem to point to the presence of sectaries assist in crystallizing the anti-Jewish attitude. In order to have a basis for a warning against sects within a movement, the movement must have the consciousness of a standard for the correct measurement of itself. This is clear in the letter; doubtless the consciousness of the correct standard of Christianity which operated to make it aware of deviations also brought the consciousness of difference from such a rival movement as Judaism.

The problems of the genuineness and the literary relations of the Ephesian letter are very difficult; whether this is a letter actually written by Paul or a pseudonymous letter written by a Pauline community for the purpose of promulgating a collection of Pauline letters is a perplexing question.[6] In either case the data of the problem under discussion are relevant; if the letter is pseudonymous they point to a somewhat later and a more explicit situation. At all events there is in the letter witness to the fact that consciousness of national and racial distinction between Christians and Jews

[6] Cf. Goodspeed, *The Formation of the New Testament*, pp. 27 ff. *New Solutions of New Testament Problems.*

was maintained by both groups. This is plain from the passage: "Wherefore remember that once you, the Gentiles in the flesh, who are called uncircumcision by those who are called circumcision in the flesh made with hands . . . ." (Eph. 2:11). The letter goes on to use the phrase "the commonwealth of Israel" as inclusive of the Christian community, a manner of speech quite common at a later date. The emphasis upon unity is significant. The Jewish reference to Christians as uncircumcised demonstrates the consciousness of distinction between the two groups; the difference in point of view was expressed by epithets, one of the most obvious methods of competition.

As shall be shown in subsequent chapters, not infrequently certain interests in the growing Christian communities are reflected in the Pauline writings in such a manner that these letters become, so far as literary relation is concerned, the sources of statements which are more fully expressed in the Gospels. In other words, often the Pauline letters are sources, both functional and literary, of the alleged teachings of Jesus as these appear in the Gospels. Of course the usual literary approach to the teachings of Jesus takes it that by literary criticism the Gospels may be so analyzed that the substratum of Jesus' teaching may be discovered, so that Jesus is taken as the earlier, Paul the later, authority. But the method which is rising beside the literary approach sees that the Pauline attitude is earlier than the literary form of the alleged teaching of Jesus as it appears in the Gospels; it follows that in such cases Paul is primary, and the source, while the data of the Gospels are the ascriptions to Jesus of attitudes which were achieved in the early Christian communities.

For example, the statement appearing in Romans, "I know, and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus, that nothing is

unclean of itself" (Rom. 14:14), is the attitude which is basic to that enunciated as a teaching of Jesus in the famous discussion of Mark, chapter 7.[7] Paul uses his ecstatic relation with the risen Christ as the source for his attitude, but in Mark the ecstatic relation is replaced by an explicit recital of a teaching whose authority is secured by the use of Jesus as a sanction. Likewise Paul's attitude toward the Sabbath is an example: "Do not permit anyone to judge you . . . . in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day, which are a shadow of the things to come, but the body is Christ's" (Col. 2:16 f.). From a historical approach to early Christianity it is clear that in such examples Paul's attitude is not only primary to the literary expression of the Gospels, but also that the attitude expressed in the Gospels is one of which the Pauline statement is the effective source.

As shall appear, examples such as these might be multiplied. Such data are items of the basis of the traditions which are fully worked out in the later sources. Paul's principles are the immediate expressions of experience. They are not developed in theoretical application, but are purely practical advices designed to be applied in such concrete situations as presented themselves in the experiences of the growing communities. Yet they reflect a thoroughly un-Jewish practice, so that the later developments of such attitudes into generalized rules are only the outgrowth from bases already present in the Pauline communities and reflected in the Pauline letters.

Thus, seen in relation to the growing Christian movement, Paul's experience and personality not unnaturally led him to follow certain lines which were diametrically opposed to the standards of Judaism. His negative evaluation of the Torah as such, as well as his treatment of particular laws

[7] It is hardly necessary to point out its antecedence to Acts 10:15.

and customs, resulted, so far as his influence was effective, in the shaping of Christian communities in which the practice was sharply different from Jewish manners. In this Paul's opposition was mainly to the Torah on the preceptive side, so that, since this was precisely the aspect to which the Pharisees devoted particular attention, Paul's attitudes were in clear opposition to those of the Pharisees. While the exigencies of the situations in which he was directing his effort were such that specific notice of the Pharisees is not prominently reflected in the sources, there is none the less in the Pauline letters, and presumably in the Pauline communities, a latent or unarticulated basis for the attitude of anti-Pharisaism which emerges so sharply in the Gospels.

III

THE TRADITION IN THE ROMAN MILIEU

IT IS evident that the Gospel according to Mark portrays the Pharisees in lines much more sharply drawn than they appear in the basis of tradition in the Pauline communities. Even though relatively Mark's portrait is less pointedly anti-Pharisaic than that of the later Gospels, it is none the less true that there is a sharp difference between the stage marked by the earliest Gospel and the unarticulated attitudes of Pauline Christianity.

What forces in the development of the Christian movement account for such a difference? While the passing of time would be one such, this may not be cited as the sole, or even the basic, cause, for the few years between the most advanced point of view observable in the Pauline letters and the appearance of Mark would hardly suffice for so marked an advance, even though they were full of portentous events in the life of the growing cult. One must look to the attitudes found in the several localities in which the movement was having its most significant growth and perceive the relations between its adherents and their associates. For social attitudes, given a sufficient basis and an effective situation in which to develop, not seldom spring up quickly, and in the briefest time exert the most profound influence.

But prerequisite to the examination of the attitudes dis-

coverable in the Christian communities is the observation of the new literary form in which the picture of the Pharisees occurs. It is obvious that the gospel form of literature, casting its materials in the quasi-biographical form, necessarily made identifications and utilized particular persons and groups as background and local color for its story of Jesus. Naturally this would have specific effect in crystallizing the traditions of the Pharisees.

To the present such observation of the data of the gospel form has been almost exclusively literary. Such an approach, when applied to the present study, shows that in the matter of source relationship the several Gospels and their basic materials offer various pictures and evaluations of the Pharisees. To appeal to this method alone, as a survey of the sources shows, reveals a growing tendency toward anti-Pharisaism in the Christian tradition. But the more recent methods of the study of the Gospels and their sources not only bring this to attention, but offer a method of accounting for it.

It is no longer so confidently held that literary priority establishes historic fact. Several years ago Professor Bacon noted that the clue to the understanding of a biblical source was the question of motive.[1] Why was the book written? What was its purpose? What were the efficient causes which brought it forth? What were the needs which occasioned its composition? The logic of this point of view was to drive attention to the situation of the group for whom the writing was composed, so that it became relevant to note their needs, just as it was relevant to emphasize the messages of the book which were the writer's attempt to meet their needs. It naturally followed that there arose the principle which was revolutionary in its effect: it was perceived that the Gospels,

[1] Bacon, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*, 1.

for instance, were primarily sources for the period of their composition, rather than for the period of their dramatic date. In this period research took the form of studies of background, so that the most significant work was that concerned with social history rather than with documentary analysis.[2]

The next step was the application of the method of social history (or, as it is called by German scholars, *Formgeschichte*), which is the attempt to account for the rise of the gospels, not by appeal merely to the literary phenomena of their sources, but by the discovery of the interests which caused their production. In the best sense this is an appeal to the social history of the people for and by whom the Gospels were written. It must be recognized that the method is not always consistently applied. Not infrequently the appeal, in comparing a source with a similar type in Jewish or Hellenistic literature, is essentially literary and documentary. However, it is by reference to its virtues, not to its defects, that the value of the method will be apparent.

The *formgeschichtliche methode*, which is best known from the work of Rudolf Bultmann and Martin Dibelius,[3] directs attention to the religious communities which produced the traditions forming the subject matter of the gospels. These materials, it is pointed out, arose as communities which were formed by the preaching of the work of Jesus came to feel the necessity of teaching and directive norms. It is, indeed, easy to see from the Pauline letters how simply and briefly Paul referred to Jesus in his preaching. The "word

[2] Leipoldt, *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (October, 1923).

[3] Bultmann, *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*; Dibelius, *Formgeschichte des Evangelien*. Brief summaries appear in English: Bultmann, "The New Approach to the Synoptic Problem," *Journal of Religion*, VI (1926), 337–362; Dibelius, "The Structure and Literary Character of the Gospels," *Harvard Theological Review*, XX (1927), 151–170.

of the cross" occasioned only such notations about Jesus as that he lived, died as a sacrifice, and was raised by the power of God. It is also easy to see how Jesus functioned as a cult divinity, as Lord, for these communities. And, as Dibelius points out, the necessity of appeal to Jesus for discipline and direction is to be perceived in the Pauline letters, where a "word of the Lord," although obtained in ecstasy, nevertheless thus early operated as a powerful sanction (I Cor. 7:10).

In Dibelius' opinion, the preaching materials of the early evangelists were first supplemented by illustrative and directive teaching; presently to these were added also stories, such as wonder-tales of Jesus' mighty works. The next stage which it is supposed was reached was the collection of groups of these stories and illustrations. After this, according as the communities had need, the more formal teachings came to be produced and collected, and finally those stories of Jesus which may be called legends, e.g., the stories of his birth, appeared.

Bultmann approaches the problem through a method which differs in details. He distinguishes between the Hellenistic communities, in which Jesus occupied the position of the cult-divinity, and the Palestinian communities, in which the materials of the Gospels were produced and collected. Bultmann's characteristic term for the ultimate materials of the Gospels is *apophthegmata*, which are the sayings of and about Jesus produced in response to the interests of the Palestinian communities. These sayings were of various sorts, e.g., prophetic and apocalyptic, sayings for guidance and discipline, as well as polemic and didactic sayings. Some, indeed, were biographical. Words of Jesus, such as wisdom utterances, his teachings as prophet and seer, and pronouncements for the rule and government of the communities, were of a more extensive nature than true apophthegmata. Of

still another type were the wonder-tales which were produced as Jesus' fame as healer and as master of the forces of nature became current. Still farther removed from the simple form of apophthegmata were the stories of Jesus' birth, baptism, entry into Jerusalem, death, and resurrection. Indeed, Bultmann regards these as legends.

These materials, Bultmann thinks, were produced and collected by the Palestinian communities. Then, as contact was established between these and the Hellenistic communities, through the early missionaries (who were from the Palestinian churches) and the Jews who formed so large a proportion of the personnel of the Hellenistic communities, the cult divinity of these was given historical character by clothing him with the traditions and sayings which had been produced by the Christians of Palestine. In this manner the bare "word of the cross" grew into the full story of Jesus. Finally, when the process reached the point where the materials were at home on Hellenistic soil, they were developed through Hellenistic literary genius into the gospel form, which, Bultmann thinks, was created by the evangelist Mark.

The gospel form was thus the product of the Hellenistic community. Bultmann admits the difficulty of the supposed appropriation by these communities of the Palestinian traditions, but accounts for it, as was suggested, by the facts that the early missionaries were Palestinian Jews and that Jews were largely represented in any Hellenistic city. At any rate, he regards the taking over of what became in a sense a history as meeting an essential requirement of the Hellenistic conception of the cult lord, though it was accomplished not only by the identification of Jesus as this lord, but by the realization of a history for him. The savior figures of other Hellenistic cults afforded analogies.

One acquainted with recent research on the Gospels

needs no reminder that attention has steadily been drawn to the religious groups by and for whom the Gospels were written. Whatever may be the defects and limitations of the *formgeschichtliche methode,* the soundness of this feature will without doubt be established. Doubtless there will be reluctance on the part of those inclined to follow other schools to accept its methodology at the point of regarding these groups as the agents of the production of tradition. Yet the method of social history makes it clear that it is as necessary for a composition to have a public as for it to have an author.[4] It is a natural corollary that the influence of the public upon the author is very great; the author who writes materials not understandable by or relevant to the needs of his community is not represented in the Gospels, which were written for practical purpose.

So far as the present study is concerned, the research of the past few years has made it plain that there is little correspondence with fact in the gospel portraits of the Pharisees, and in the relation there alleged as existing between them and Jesus. How, then, did this picture have its rise? In response to the direction taken by the Christian movement in its expansion. The Pharisees were involved in the process in two ways: by the fundamental fact that the quasi-biographical form of the gospel story of Jesus required a certain amount of background and local color, and by the influence of developing apologetic. As has been shown, even in the Pauline communities there was a sufficient basis for conflict between Christians and Jews, and, since the Pharisees were those representatives of Judaism with whom a rival cult would come into contact, it was inevitable that the new

[4] Cf. the point expressed by Professor Goodspeed in "The Origin of Acts," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XXXIX (1920), 6–21, and in *New Solutions of New Testament Problems.*

movement should come into opposition with these representatives of the old. Naturally, the form of opposition varied in different places and times.

A comparison of the Markan data concerning the Pharisees with those of the later Gospels makes clear the less advanced stage of polemic which is the character of the earlier work. If it may be taken, as seems to be established, that the Gospel according to Mark had its origin in Rome at a date near 70 A.D.,[5] the correlation between the data of the source and the historical situation observable from the Pauline letters becomes striking.

Consider, for example, the implication of the following factors. The Christian church in Rome was founded quite independently of Paul. As has been suggested by Professor Case,[6] the fact that Paul wrote to these Christians with the purpose of sharing some spiritual gift is best understood as indicating that there was a difference between the attitudes of these and the attitudes deemed desirable by Paul. For example, Paul's praise of the charismata in Romans, chapter 12, is very likely with reference to their lower evaluation by the Roman group, among whom direction and control appear to have been derived from the more institutional method of consulting Scripture. Possibly another difference was in the attitude toward Jews; the Romans were not inclined to take into consideration their prior right, so that Paul found it necessary to remind them that the Jews were the original stock into which Gentiles had been engrafted. It seems to have been necessary in other matters, such as the proper understanding of the law, for Paul to have urged his point of view upon the Romans.

As a matter of further importance, it is surprising that

[5] Bacon, *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?*

[6] Case, *The Social Origins of Christianity*, pp. 166 ff.

the situation of Romans, chapters 9–11, has not been regarded in its perspective. If it is true, as was maintained before, that the point of view of Acts has succeeded in imposing itself in contravention of facts, and that the rise of Christianity among the non-Jews was a quite natural phenomenon, the situation revealed by this reference as obtaining about 58 A.D. becomes highly instructive. It was apparent by this time even to Paul that the difference between Gentiles and Jews in the acceptance of the Christian message was so obvious as to require explanation, and the explanation which Paul is able to give not only taxes his ingenuity but is wrung from the anguish of his soul. Clearly, Paul shared with his readers the common perception that the Christian movement was current among non-Jews, while its acceptance by Jews was rare. To be sure, it may seem strange to the modern that Paul should have been surprised by a situation which was quite the logical result of his viewpoint; his insistance that becoming a believer did not necessitate joining the Jewish race nor the observance of the Jewish law made inevitable, as this point of view met with acceptance, the non-Jewish character of the cult. Nevertheless the situation which obtained at the time of the composition of the Roman letter came to his consciousness not only as a surprise, but as a dilemma.

It is also significant that Paul's letter to the Romans presents his judgment upon several of the problems which form much of the subject matter of the Gospel according to Mark. Not only are the letter and the gospel concerned with the problem of the observance of the law, but the appearance of relevant data extends to detail in such special features as Paul's principle (cited merely by way of illustration) in the divorce question (Romans 7:2f.), the observance of special days (14:5f.), and the distinction of clean and unclean

foods (14:14). It is clear that the problems at the basis of his advice were important to the people to whom he wrote; it is likely that they were matters of general importance. Thus it is not without significance that a Gospel which seems to have had its origin in Rome, where such matters are known from the Pauline letter to have been under discussion, should have found it desirable to contain certain data which purported to be Jesus' teaching or example on the same subjects.

To be sure, the similarity between the language of Romans, e.g., the concluding verses of chapter 12, and certain passages in the Gospels has been taken to indicate that Paul was here quoting either the Oral Tradition or some form of the Gospel materials. It is, however, more in line with historical sequence to take the Pauline teachings and principles as the sources of the points of view which found their articulation in the Gospels. The communities were faced with certain situations and achieved the attitudes which later became normative; was their achievement then not the production of the attitude cited as proper in the Gospel, and there given effective influence by their appeal to Jesus by way of sanction? There was vital connection between the basis for tradition which is abundantly found in Paul's witness to his situations and the teachings which were later enunciated.

The *formgeschichtliche schule* regards it as important that the gospel form began with the Gospel according to Mark; not only is it insisted that no source of Mark's can be called a Gospel, but it is urged also that if another Gospel as early as Mark had been current it would surely have been used by the later evangelists, who appear, on the other hand, to have based their works upon the ground plan of Mark.[7] If this be true it would follow that in such matters as identification

[7] Bultmann, *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, p. 225.

and local color the specific turn given the materials is due to the author as the "creator" (so Bultmann calls him) of the form. At any rate, it is an interesting and doubtless a significant correlation that such materials as the papyri "sayings" of Jesus are without such background.[8] To be sure, another German scholar, K. L. Schmidt,[9] concludes that while these and other place and time references in the Gospels are editorial, those of Mark, as compared to the later Gospels, are primitive. But it is not clear why, since the editorial nature of all is recognized, one, even though relatively it be the earlier, is primitive while the others are artificial.

Local interests, together with the passing of time and its refinement of opposition between the adherents of the Christian cult and Judaism, account for the portrait of the Pharisees in the earliest example of the new literary form. The Gospel according to Mark, adopting a quasi-biographical medium for the expression of its messages, was an attempt to meet certain needs of its public, needs which were various, so that its references to Pharisees were but one of many such. It has been urged that this work, coming in a sequence of what doubtless appeared at the time to be calamities, took its form largely by reason of its interest in picturing Jesus as a martyr.[10] One of the most interesting aspects of Mark is that by which more than half its bulk is occupied by the "falling action" of the passion story. It is not so far removed from Paul in that its primary interest is in Jesus' death, with much less attention to his life than might be expected if the form were truly biographical. The matter is more difficult for the

[8] A notable exception is that (Pap. Ox. V, 840) in which Jesus debates, using stock Hellenistic arguments, the question of purity with "a certain Pharisee high priest Levi."

[9] Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu.*

[10] Riddle, "The Martyr Motif in the Gospel According to Mark," *Journal of Religion,* IV (1924), 4:397–410.

eye of the western reader to perceive, but it is important to keep in mind that the entire literary milieu of the earliest Gospel was Hellenistic, in which the supplying of background and the composition of suitable speeches for the characters of the quasi-biography were conventions accepted without the slightest question.

As one who is acquainted with contemporary Judaism reads the Gospel according to Mark it readily appears that if the author's identification of Jewish groups are to be taken more seriously than such a view of literary convention demands, the only alternative possible is that his information is lacking at basic and elemental points. Mark opens his narrative by placing Jesus in the synagogue; this institution, known over all the Roman world, was sufficiently understood by the author that it furnished enough background and locale for his purpose. But when such specific questions arise as items of interpretation of law or identification of certain groups, his accuracy is strained. Not only are there the "scribes of the Pharisees," but the to us inexplicable Herodians. True, to Roman ears the term Herodian might suggest a definite, if not a correct, meaning. The other conventional identification of Mark, "certain of the scribes who came down from Jerusalem," similarly seems to be an attempt to secure verisimilitude by the use of restrictive terminology. Of course Mark's penchant for the term "scribe" is a part of the phenomena of his scheme; it is not only difficult to invest the term with sufficient meaning in its frequent occurrences, but its use, especially in connection with other group names, in the passion story, ceases to have exact signification.

It need not be supposed that the data emerging from the alleged disputes of Jesus require more specific identification of the opposing group than that suggested before. It is quite

evident that some of the interests involved in such moot points as the eating of certain foods, the observance of special days, and the maintenance of a standard of purity arose in gentile communities without the necessary intervention of "Judaizers"; tendencies toward asceticism were quite as common among non-Jews as Mosaic restrictions were important to Jews. The appeal to Jesus as sanction for the practice followed by various Christian groups and alleged by them to be normative no doubt produced within the groups much of the tradition concerning Jesus in his supposed contacts with Jews.

It will be by reference to the social situations of the Christian communities that the interests and needs which occasioned the rise of tradition will be marked, and in this process the traditions of Jesus and the Pharisees form instructive illustrations. Several of the phases of the development may be detected with a degree of confidence. For example, to take one of the most obvious, nothing was more necessary in a Roman milieu than that the responsibility for Jesus' death be removed from the State. How might this be effected? To place the sequence of events within the light of the then important fact of the Jewish revolt in Jerusalem, it was quite clear that the Temple group was one with whom no sympathy would be wasted either by Roman or Christian. Whether or not the author of the earliest Gospel saw the triumphal procession along the Sacred Way, many of his readers saw it, and to them it would have seemed but just that the group whose resistance to Rome might be most readily personified should be pictured as the group responsible for the death of the Lord of the cult. To those who were the original readers of this work the "scribes, chief priests, and elders" would be sufficiently comprehensive.

When it is recognized that those stories which were related as having occurred in the synagogue have as their major

interest the citation of a marvel, and are thus put in the perspective intended by their author, it will appear clearly that the data of their locale are so secondary as to have slight importance. If this requires verification, it is sufficient to note with what slight detail the synagogue appearances are chronicled; further, that in most cases the marvel which is the essential element of the story would be to a Roman primary, the teaching, secondary. Or, again, even in those cases in which teaching occupies a more prominent position it is to be noted that there is in each case a feature which functioned particularly for the Roman milieu. For example, the teaching about blasphemy against the Holy Spirit illustrates this point, since the teaching is by no means for the purpose of information about the Spirit, but rather the warning of the serious consequences of supposing that the spirit by which characteristic marvels were effected was evil, not holy, spirit. This is no more than the articulation and illustration of the Pauline point of view that no one could confess that "Jesus is Lord" but by holy spirit, while no one who said "Jesus is anathema" spoke through possession by spirit of God (I Cor. 12:3).

Confusion at such points has come because the modern reader, approaching the Gospel stories from the point of view of his normative ethical conception of Jesus, isolates as important the didactic materials, which he understands in the light of his contemporary viewpoint, and relegates as unimportant exactly those features which were convincing to the original reader. For example, Mark's story of the paralytic man is read with primary interest attaching to the proposition that the son of man has authority to forgive sins, with little weight placed upon the factor which was decisive to the early Christian, namely, the proof vesting in the marvel itself.

Is the matter different when the content of the stories involves questions of the Mosaic law? Here, again, it must be insisted that it is essential to place the phenomena in their original sequence. Paul, for example, on the one hand behaved as though the new movement was a non-Jewish, and indeed a non-nationalistic, cult, and on the other hand frequently appealed to his Jewish lore for precept and illustration. Such seems to have been his practice in several gentile communities. When he wrote to the Romans he cited not a few examples from Scripture which he assumed would be understood by this gentile group. Perhaps, indeed, they were more inclined than he to use Scripture as a norm rather than his medium, the charismata. It was no anomaly, nor was any felt by the ancients, for Westerners to accept cult traditions which were Oriental in origin. Rather, the exotic oriental features seem then, as now, to have exerted considerable attraction. The contrast of character between Roman and Jewish characteristics in Christianity was probably not regarded as violent; certainly it was less marked than that which was apparent as the orgiastic Cybele cult made its impression upon the austere Romans, and the "foreign" quality of its tradition was doubtless not so apparent as was the case with the Persian legends of Mithra.

There was in the case of Christianity's relation to the Mosaic law a factor not present in the situations of other rival cults. Not only was there the point at issue between the Roman and the Christian cults, but beside both was the Dispersion Jew, who thus operated both as a disseminant of the tradition, and who, in the situation, had his own interests to advance. As the Christian cult began to assume a position of importance in the Roman world, and as it became more and more apparent that it had no future among Jews, but, conversely, began to appeal strongly to Gentiles, the proponent

of Judaism could not complacently see the ground cut from beneath his feet by the Christian appropriation of his particular possession. Fortunately for the new movement, a sufficient time had elapsed before this became apparent that its basis for growth was sufficiently laid, but by the time that the Gospel according to Mark was written the advantage which Christianity had before enjoyed, i.e., the failure particularly to distinguish it, was no longer an advantage. It was formidable enough to stand upon its own feet, while, on the other hand, in the eyes of Mark's public Judaism now suffered obvious disabilities which it was no advantage to share. Consequently, both Judaism and Christianity were willing to be identified as separate.

The ultimate outcome of this process is to be witnessed most clearly in the literary defenses of Christianity and in the specific proscription by Judaism of Christians as heretics (*minim*). The means taken by Christianity was the familiar argument that the new movement by divine providence had supplanted the old, so that the "promises" of the covenant were actually to Christianity, not to Judaism. Thus Christians are the true Israel, to whom all the lore of the covenant belongs. The result was the appropriation by Christians of the entire Old Testament, which became, as they used it, essentially a Western library.

It is an early stage of this process which is to be seen in Mark. Here is the interpretation of several bits of Scripture in the interest of the new community, the interpretations being placed into the mouth of Jesus. In this manner the norms which were the social practices of Christian communities are given the sanction of teaching of Jesus. There are four polar examples in which Mark functions in this manner: questions about the observance of the Sabbath, fasting, purification, and divorce.

Naturally the matter of Sabbath observance bulks as highly important in the plan of the Gospel. It appears usually in connection with the synagogue environment in which Jesus is pictured. To be sure, the first of such stories relates a healing on the Sabbath to which no objection is registered; but at an early point the objection appears. The first instance is when Jesus' disciples are noticed as illegally preparing grain for food as they walked through a field on a Sabbath. It is important to note that no accusation is made against Jesus, but he defends his followers by citing the example of David's disregard of legal prohibition when in need, and by enunciating the principle that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. To this is added the saying that the Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath. Jewish scholars have pointed out that the principle of the Sabbath as means rather than end is quite congenial to Jewish thought, so much so that it is to be found in the rabbinical literature.[11]

As a matter of fact, it requires little historical perspective to see that the teaching cited is simply the generalization of Christian practice current at the time and in the milieu of the writing of this Gospel. So little rigidity or uniformity characterized the Roman Christians at this point that Paul had written "one man esteems one day above another, another esteems every day . . . . he who regards the day regards it to the Lord"; the exhortation made is that no one judge or set at nought his brother (Rom. 14:4–6, 10). To another group he urged "permit no one to judge you . . . . in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath, which are a shadow of the things to come"; they who died with Christ from the elements of the world should not regard themselves as subject to ordinances (Col. 2:16 f., 20). Nor is Paul's

[11] *Yoma* 85b; cf. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 1st series, p. 130.

advice to the Galatians essentially a contradiction of this standard, for in this case the observance of the Sabbath, which had already begun (Gal. 4:10), was not crucial. Circumcision, involving not merely the observance of the law, but joining the Jewish race, was the crux of the situation, and Paul, fearing the complete loss of status on the part of these Christians, bends every effort to the prevention of this impending step. It is conclusive that in the Pauline communities Sabbath observance was anything but the rule. When maintained it was regarded as a peculiarity and allowed as an idiosyncracy.

Since the non-observance of the Sabbath was the common practice of Christians in the Pauline communities, it was easy and natural for the Gospel writers to represent Jesus as sanctioning the common point of view. To be sure, the earliest Gospel does not allege that Jesus went the full length of non-observance himself, but, as shall be shown presently, a certain irregularity was said to characterize him. The proper perspective in the emerging teaching is to take first the practice of the community, then the generalization of the practice into a rule, finally the alleged sanction of Jesus to the rule. This order also appears in Mark from the *ad hominem* argument from Scripture, in which the reference is made so loosely as to be incorrect; were this actually the retort of Jesus to Pharisees the case were lost by the error, but if it represents Mark's use of the double sanction, Jesus and Scripture, in the instruction of fellow-Christians, the inaccuracy was a slight matter.

The point at which irregularity in keeping the Sabbath laws was alleged to characterize Jesus himself is the matter of healing on this day. Though one story of Sabbath healing is told in which no conflict appears, the interest is present in the story of the man with the withered hand. "They"

watched Jesus purposely to see whether he would heal on the Sabbath; if so, they would have a basis on which to accuse him. Jesus deliberately asks whether it is lawful on the Sabbath to do good or harm, to save a life or to kill. Receiving no answer to what is at best hardly a relevant form of the question, he looked about on them with anger and accepted the challenge by healing the man, whereupon the Pharisees conspire with the Herodians to destroy him.

This story is an example of those occasioned by the conflict interest.[12] It was apparent to anyone who cared to make the comparison that Christians and Jews differed at the point of Sabbath observance; it was therefore necessary, as the point was made, to show why the difference existed. The expedient adopted by the Christians was to contrast the barrenness of the Jewish custom with the fruitfulness of the Christian. Jewish scholars find no difficulty in showing that such "hardness of heart" alleged by the story was not characteristic of ancient Judaism,[13] but seen in the light of the story's purpose this is beside the point. The importance is not in the truth of the situation alleged, but the conflict situation between the Christians of the time of the composition of the Gospel and the contemporary Jews. The usefulness of the story was not the conviction of the Jew, but the confirmation of the Christian, and the attraction of the Gentile to the Christian cult. That this served a purpose in the Roman milieu may readily be seen in the manner in which Roman writers, particularly the satirists, expressed concern over the adoption of Jewish customs of the Sabbath by too many Roman people.

It is an interesting feature of Mark's plan that the examples of Sabbath conflict are thus early sufficient, so that no

[12] Albertz, *Die Synoptische Streitgesprache*, pp. 5–16.

[13] Abrahams, *op. cit.*

more are cited. As was noted in the analysis of the sources, this is a point at which Luke and the Fourth Gospel desert the Markan outline. But Mark's plan is satisfied by these, so that the writer passes to other matters. This is in itself witness to the fact that the materials of the earliest Gospel are arranged in response to practical needs, and that the Gospel is not history, but edification.

The production of the Markan materials about fasting customs may still more easily be shown. It does not require the citation of the practices of contemporary gentile cults to show the currency of asceticism in the Roman world and the consequent liveliness of the subject for Mark and his public. As has been abundantly shown, the representation of Jewish customs by Mark is by no means adequate. It would appear from his narrative that it was regarded as normative by "John's disciples and the Pharisees" frequently to fast, so that their customs were in marked contrast with those of Jesus' disciples (nothing irregular is alleged of Jesus' own practice). As is well known, there was only one fast which was obligatory upon Jews: the fast on the Day of Atonement. Anything more than this was voluntary, or at most required by nothing more than the social pressure of particular groups. On the other hand, it would be taken from Mark that Jesus' disciples did not fast at all. Now, it may have been the intention of Mark to maintain that for his public no fasts were customary, but this certainly may not be taken as correctly describing the common practice of all Christian communities. To say nothing of New Testament sources, the *Didache* is sufficient witness that frequent fasts were the custom of some.[14] Indeed, in the Roman milieu at a later date the *Shepherd* of Hermas refers to the habit of its author

[14] *Didache* viii, 1.

to fast.[15] However, Mark's purpose was to teach that non-asceticism was the rule of Jesus' disciples.

The basis for such a view is readily found in the Pauline advice to his churches. The man of faith, Paul says (Romans 14:1ff.) eats all things; it is only the weak in faith who are ascetic. The rule in such a situation is practical: do not judge. In the letter to the Colossians the same point is made; do not permit anyone to judge you at this point; one should not subject himself to ordinances such as require him to "taste not" (2:16, 21). Clearly, the practice of the Pauline communities was non-ascetic, so that the practice furnished a ready basis for the enunciation of the principle as a part of the teaching of Jesus. That the enunciation served the secondary purpose of controverting Jews was incidental, but doubtless useful to the readers of the Gospel; however, it adds no information of the actual relations between Jesus and his fellow-Jews. If more convincing proof of the origin of this teaching in the community, and its promulgation by the gospel writer, were desired, the manner in which the teaching about fasting is made to foreshadow the death of Jesus should be sufficient.

No section of the Markan Gospel tells more of the manner of the production of its materials than the famous discussion of ceremonial defilement and the tradition of the elders. Here again it is evident that the production of Christian tradition is primary, and the setting of the story, with its reference to the Pharisees and certain of the scribes who had come down from Jerusalem, is secondary. It is also obvious that the personality of the evangelist is more to the fore than that of Jesus, since not only the content of the teaching, but still more apparently the allegation of the extent of Jewish purification customs, is introduced by the writer in contradic-

[15] *Shepherd* of Hermas, Similitude V, iii, 5–8.

tion to facts. Nothing is plainer than that here "the Pharisees" is a term equivalent to "all the Jews." This does not make Mark's statement of the currency of purification customs any more true, since it was not true even of Pharisees as a group; but it is plain that Mark represents Jesus as disavowing a set of customs supposed to be practiced by Jews. In this respect, at this point, at least, Mark does not differ greatly from Acts and the Fourth Gospel in the failure accurately to distinguish Jewish groups.

The primary element in the section is, of course, the Christian non-acceptance of the tradition of the elders and the customs of ceremonial purification. As to the reference to the tradition and its illustration by the Corban vow, it is sufficient to state that the evangelist makes his point by the absolute misrepresentation of the Jewish custom. He alleges a word of Jesus to the effect that the tradition of the elders is a human institution, in following which the Jews abandon the word of God. The proof of the assertion is contained in the illustration of the vow. Briefly, the teaching of Jesus is that whereas the commandment "Honor thy father and thy mother" is a word of God, it is set aside by dedicating property to God. This, it is affirmed, was but one example of the tradition of the elders; "many such things you do," Jesus is alleged to have said.

In understanding this story it is necessary to note that the teaching which Jesus ascribes to the rabbis is exactly contrary to their actual teaching. As a matter of fact, it was a part of the written law that an oath registered must be carried out (Num. 30:2), so that in attacking the custom of oath-taking it was the written law, not the oral tradition, which was under fire. It is true that the scribal interpreters worked out a casuistic system by which one might be released from rash or unwisely uttered vows, but this operated in a

vitally humanitarian manner, by no means with unfortunate result implied in the example cited. Furthermore, the citation of the particular item of oath- and vow-taking was not effective, so far as the facts go, in attacking the validity of the oral tradition, for the rabbis strongly deprecated the taking of oaths and vows.[16] It may be said, as has been well said by Montefiore,[17] that the rabbis taught exactly the opposite of what is here alleged of them; they taught exactly what Jesus is said here to have taught; so that Jesus and the rabbis do not differ at this point; they agree.

But when attention is directed primarily to the item of greater importance, namely, that the evangelist desires to utilize Jesus as an opponent of a supposed Jewish point of view, it is sufficient that a conflict situation be described, without reference to the facts in the case.

In the matter of ceremonial purification it is possible, again to demonstrate that Mark's position is but the generalization into principle of an attitude which had already become current among Christians. (It is again to be noted that the objection made by the Jewish opponents was to the conduct of the disciples, not to that of Jesus). One may once more appeal to the basis of tradition in the Pauline communities as the beginning of the attitude generalized by Mark. If one notes the advice of Paul in its proper sequence, i.e., as current at an earlier date than the teaching contained in the Gospel, his dictum, "I know, and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus that nothing is unclean of itself," is discovered to be the source of the teaching of the Gospels. That Paul obtained his conviction through an ecstatic experience marks but another case of a "word of the Lord" substantiating a posi-

[16] Mann, "Oaths and Vows in the Synoptic Gospels," *American Journal of Theology*, XXI, 260.

[17] Montefiore, *Synoptic Gospels*, I, 164 ff.

tion which began in experience. The principle which he cited to the Romans thus furnished a basis for the principle ascribed to Jesus by the Roman evangelist. "All things are clean" was Paul's conviction; one needs but to appeal to his experience, in which Jesus meant to him complete freedom from the law, to discover the source for such a point of view. These principles were consistently urged by him wherever he had influence, and naturally, so far as his influence obtained, they assisted in the erection of a pattern of Christian practice. It was the common practice which formed the basis of Mark's enunciation of teaching, and in its expression he knew no more effective sanction than to cite it as a word of Jesus.

The Hellenistic character of the teaching contained in Mark 7:1–23 is further indicated by the citation of the list of sins. These lists were not made by Palestinian Jews; at least, they do not appear in their literature. They do appear in the literature of Hellenistic Judaism, e.g., in *Wisdom*, so that Paul was sharing a Hellenistic convention when he made such lists (Gal. 5:19ff., Rom. 1:29ff.), as was also Mark in this instance. The literary canon alone indicates the Hellenistic character of the section, as well as its character as the production of the evangelist; Bacon's assertion[18] that nothing in the Gospel is more certainly editorial than the statement of the extensive currency of customs of purification may well be extended to the entire passage, and surely applies to the evangelist's conclusion that what Jesus said made all meats clean. This is but another instance of the conflict of customs, representing a practice which applied fairly enough to the Christians of Mark's date and milieu, but which could not with correctness be applied to Jesus or to his associates.

[18] Bacon, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*, xxiv.

The part played by the Pharisees in the discussion of divorce is quite obviously that of the conventional opponent. It is quite impossible that any standard of correctness in characterization could be credited the author of a narrative which represents Pharisees as asking a question, with the purpose of trying Jesus, whether it was lawful for one to divorce a wife. Any Pharisee, as a man of Torah, well knew the answer to that question, and would as readily have known that it offered no occasion of testing any but the most ignorant teacher. That this was true is established by the form of the question which a later editor of the Markan source reports: "Is it lawful to put away his wife *for every cause?*" But Mark's question does not involve the nice points of Jewish legalism.

If it is safe to infer any influence from Mark's environment it is probable that the issue for him was the conflict of attitudes among Christians who lived in groups in which current Roman customs precipitated the divorce question in a much cruder form. That the question of the propriety of divorce was very much alive among the early Christians is evident from a number of references in their literature. Evidently it arose as a practical matter, since in the expansion of Christianity there frequently arose situations of strain as a husband or wife became an adherent of the cult while the other remained in alignment with non-Christian societies. In this case the question was raised, as is known, by such gentile Christians as those of Corinth. It appears that some Christian groups attempted to maintain quite a rigorous standard in the matter, for obviously there must have been a public to make current the attitude reflected in the teaching enunciated by Mark. It is clear that the interest in Mark is the practical need of his public rather than the academic dis-

cussion of Jesus' attitude toward the question at issue between the schools of Hillel and Shammai.

There was a basis in the Roman community for the principle which Mark sets forth. Paul, in writing to the Romans, by way of illustration happened to reveal practically the same viewpoint: "The woman who has a husband is bound by law to her husband while he lives. . . . . If while her husband lives she marries another man, she is called an adulteress, but if her husband die she is free from the law, so that she is no adulteress, even though she be married to another man" (7:2 f.; cf. I Cor. 7:39). No doubt this standard is more conservative than the common practice of the Roman public, but there is evidence that the Christian groups, as small societies, attempted and to a degree succeeded in maintaining a stricter standard for their members than that usual in the general public.

For example, the *Shepherd* of Hermas discusses a similar question (Mandate 4): If a married man's wife is adulterous, does he sin if he lives with her? The answer which is promulgated is that if he unwittingly does so he does not sin, but should he learn that she is an adulteress and continue to live with her, he would be a sinner. Such a man should put his wife away. But by putting her away divorce is not meant, for the advice goes on that he is not to marry another; he is to remain the husband of the adulterous wife, so that if she repent he may take her back. If he should marry another he would himself be an adulterer.

If so rigorous a standard as this was demanded of a Roman public at a date near the middle of the second century it need not be supposed that the standard advanced by Mark about the year 70 was so idealistic as to represent the impractical ideal of Jesus rather than the not infrequently attained standard of a local Christian group. Mark's discussion of

divorce was with reference to the Christian communities of his own day, so that it offers nothing in description of the conflicts current in Jesus' experience. The Pharisees in Mark who raise the question are merely conventional opponents who serve the purpose of introducing a question and furnishing the background of the narrative.

Other items in Mark which involve Pharisees are of the same nature. There are no exact or specific details cited in connection with the synagogue environment of Jesus which indicate a closer acquaintance with this as a Pharisaic institution than was available to any observer of the religious habits of Dispersion Jews. The Pharisees seeking a sign appear to be named from the necessity of furnishing some identification for a background. The warning to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod, so far from giving any knowledge of the character of the group, is represented in the Gospel as unintelligible to the disciples.

It is therefore concluded that in so far as the development of Christian tradition maintained as one interest the portrayal of Pharisees, the contributions of the Markan Gospel are to be understood as the product of the interests actuating Christian leaders in the milieu of the Gospel. Mark's references to Pharisees are best understood as the product of the interests actuating the Christian leaders in a Hellenistic environment at the relatively late date of the Gospel's composition. To be sure, the particular stages reached in the growth of apologetic and polemic are not far advanced. Mark normally discusses items which within Judaism were, indeed, special interests of Pharisees, such as laws of divorce, Sabbath observance, purification, and customs of fasting, but, as it appears, his purpose is primarily the crystallization in the manner deemed by him to be proper of the attitudes which were developed from the practice of Christian groups.

In such cases his articulation of what may be observed as the Pauline basis of these attitudes is plain. The Pharisees are introduced in connection with these matters by reason of the quasi-biographical character of the narrative rather than by any truly historical purpose. It is because of the operation of these factors that Mark's references to the Pharisees are conventional rather than genuinely descriptive; indeed, not infrequently the application of tests of historical accuracy reveals Mark as deficient in information of the character of those whom he pictures as in contact with Jesus. The interests of the growing Christian group and the conventions demanded by the literary form of the Gospel account for the picture of the Pharisees produced by the earliest Gospel in its Roman milieu.

IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADITION IN ANTIOCH

WHILE it is merely by hypothesis that the Gospel according to Matthew is regarded as appearing in Syrian Antioch, it is significant that this hypothesis is becoming widely accepted. Streeter, in his important work, *The Four Gospels*,[1] offers an important contribution to the reasonableness of the proposition.

That Antioch was the provenance of Matthew is regarded as likely, since no other known situation seems to furnish exactly those features of background which are found in this work, and, in turn, appear to be necessary as furnishing the interests and causes which brought it into publication. The Gospel according to Matthew seems to demand a public in which the Christian community, predominantly gentile, was a part of a locality in which the gentile population was associated with almost, if not quite, as large a Jewish group. So strong do the normative features of Jewish influence appear to be that this Gospel's conception of the new movement is as a new (and the valid) law, with the cult lord a lawgiver. Yet the movement is strenuously independent, so that even though a number of the features of its conception are similar, indeed related to Jewish characteristics, the Gospel is the herald of a religious movement which has supplanted

[1] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, pp. 500–527.

Judaism. Doubtless this supplanting was at this time merely figurative and proleptic, since the Christian cult was much smaller than the Jewish community; but in religious competition size is not necessarily the decisive factor.

The particular issue which this Gospel seems constantly to urge is this: Judaism is, indeed, a life, offering many values, but our cult's offerings are not only greater, but unique, so that one must, for a sufficient life, come the full length of adherence to it, to the abandonment of all others. It is urged on the basis of several lines of evidence that the Christian movement is final; in the interest of this proposition all the data of the work take their form. Naturally there was a double interest: the propaganda was directed to win the adherence of Gentiles, and to defend the movement against the criticisms arising from the fact of its relation with Judaism. In the play of these two interests it is easier to see the polemic against Judaism, but the interest of gentile competition was equally important, and may as readily be noted.

The gentile aspect of the Gospel according to Matthew is in need of greater emphasis than it has as yet received. However unfortunately the details of Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* were developed, its generalization is sound, for as Christianity became a gentile movement in response to the needs of its environment it shaped itself after the pattern of the salvation cults so popular in the gentile world of that day. Jesus became a cult lord, and Christianity became a cult whose value was in its impartation of the redemption of the individual. Now, while for the earlier stages of the history of Christianity in Antioch there are available only the traditions of Acts as sources, it is not unfair to urge, on the basis of other evidence, that there obtained the peculiar relation of the movement to Jewish and gentile environmental forces which is found in the Gospel according to Matthew.

For this there are several converging lines of evidence. In the first place, the character of Antioch as a religious center makes it inherently likely, for here exactly the necessary combination obtained. The city had long been the center for the dissemination of Hellenistic culture. Its character was Hellenistic. The Jews residing in the city were, indeed, an important section of its population,[2] who had long enjoyed the rights of citizenship,[3] but numerous and influential as they were, the city was Hellenistic. Religiously, its character as Hellenistic appeared in the cults which were current as the earlier local religions had become synthesized with the latter.[4] Thus the character of the Syrian goddess correlated with that known of the typical Oriental cult adopted by the West. Like other westernized Oriental religions, those of Syria had other usual features, such as the impartation of the secret of immortality, cult meals, and the like. It is a striking fact in the Hellenization of Oriental religions that it was a form of the Syrian cult which two Roman emperors, Heliogabalus and Aurelian, attempted to promulgate as the state cult of Rome.

Naturally, to any religious group whose evaluation of the Antiochean cults was made from the Jewish point of view, the figure which appears in the Maccabean books and traditions would be strong testimony to their Hellenistic character. It had been the desire of Antiochus IV to Hellenize all his subjects, and in response Greek customs were introduced even in Jerusalem. Perhaps, if his policy had been sufficiently subtle, the Greek manners might have made their way, but the impolitic method of coercion being adopted, a sufficient reaction was engendered that the reactionary point

[2] Bauer, *Antiochia in der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*, p. 7.

[3] Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, II, 2 f.

[4] Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, pp. 103–134.

of view became patriotic and thereby popular. As a result there were ranged against each other the strongly nationalistic Judaism and the influences emanating from Antioch, so that the Antiochean culture was felt to be diametrically un-Jewish. Even afterward, when the Jewish colony became so large and influential in Antioch, the differentiation between Jewish and gentile elements in the local culture was easy enough to perceive, with the primacy belonging to the Hellenistic.

Secondly, the conflict of cultures is seen in the specific data of the Pauline efforts. To be sure, Paul does not describe in detail his work in Antioch, but says that his early efforts were expended in the (more general) regions of Syria and Cilicia. But it is merely to beg the question to demand the more exact identification of the sphere of labor, and in any case Paul's incidental reference to Antioch establishes the point. This reference (Gal. 2:11ff.) is, it will be remembered, his rebuke to Cephas, who, before certain persons came to Antioch from Jerusalem, associated and even ate with Gentiles, but afterward, fearing strict Jews, withdrew from these associations. This behavior, which Paul bluntly calls hypocrisy, was sufficiently influential that others, including Barnabas, followed Cephas' example. Nothing could be plainer than the implication that the Christian group in Antioch was gentile in constitution, and that there was no impulse for it to be other until the point was urged by outside persons, specifically, by Jerusalemite Jews. It is true that the point of view urged by these was influential enough to convince several, including Cephas and Barnabas, but Paul states that he resisted it. It is not clear from Paul's reference how the conflict resulted, but it is sufficiently clear that with reference to the racial and cultural constitution of the Antiochean

church there were two points of view. The Gospel according to Matthew meets exactly such a conflict situation.

A few references in the letters of Ignatius, who was bishop of Antioch near the end of the first and the beginning of the second century, reflect the later situation here. Ignatius reveals in his correspondence a keen interest in the establishment of the machinery of the church; he urges implicit obedience of its officers and the proper observance of its offices. But another matter important to him was the contemporary stage of the competition between Christians and Jews. He was explicit on this point: "For whoever is called by any other name than this [Christian] is not of God. Put aside then the evil leaven, which has grown old and sour, and turn to the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be salted in him, that none of you may be corrupted, since by your savor you shall be tested. It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practice Judaism. For Christianity did not base its faith on Judaism, but Judaism upon Christianity, and every tongue believing on God was brought together in it" (*Magnesians*, x). "But if anyone interpret Judaism to you do not listen to him, for it is better to hear Christianity from the circumcised than Judaism from the uncircumcised" (*Philadelphians*, vi). "Be not led astray by strange doctrines or by old fables which are profitless. For if we are living until now according to Judaism, we confess that we have not received grace" (*Magnesians*, viii, 1). In another place Ignatius points the difference between the Jewish Sabbath custom and that of the Christian Lord's day as though the question of observance was still important (*Magnesians*, ix).

If it were relevant one might show how other data in the letters of Ignatius have the same purpose of maintaining the true (gentile) character of the Christian cult. Indeed, his numerous references to the ecclesiastical organization of

Christianity witness to the importance of its social constitution. Ignatius is another leader who is interested in the integrity and progress of the cult as one (to him the one of sole validity) of the religious movements of the Graeco-Roman world. Naturally the problems of the defense of Christianity against Jewish claims were important, since his efforts were brought to bear upon a situation in which his church was in constant contact with Jewish groups as rivals. Even in later days it appears that Christians found Judaism attractive. The sermons of Chrysostom show that he found it necessary to preach to his people in very elemental terms in order to maintain the full integrity of Christian practice, since enough Christians attended synagogue and preferred certain items of Jewish legal procedure to constitute a problem.

In the earlier periods these facts point to a situation in which the Christian cult was in rival relations both to other gentile cults and to Jewish groups. One of the pressing problems of the Christians was that their individuality as a group be maintained. The movement had begun as a gentile cult; though some members were Jews by birth, they associated and even ate with the gentile members who were (as this implies) in the majority. There is conclusive correlation between other information and the famous statement of Acts, that "the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch." That is, the movement here early achieved individuality and self-consciousness; though (doubtless) inclusive of Jews it was itself an independent movement. As such, it was in the position of rivalry with both Jewish and gentile religious groups. As having had its beginning primarily as a gentile movement, its competition was first with Jewish interests.

Since the history of Christianity in Antioch was in so many of its aspects a play of competition with gentile and Jewish religious groups, it is significant that the Gospel ac-

cording to Matthew reflects such a situation. This fact makes clear a number of the problems of the work, not the least of which is its picture of the Pharisees and their alleged relation with Jesus. These matters are to be understood, as are those of other sources, as the result of the influence of the forces of this environment.

The advance in position from what has been shown as the Markan tradition makes an interesting complication of the problem of Gospel origins. Clearly "Matthew" used the Gospel according to Mark as one of his sources. His work is, however, inclusive of much more, of materials which were by no means amplifications of those of Mark, but of a quite different type. The usual manner of identifying these non-Markan materials has been to regard them as a "second source"[5] (Mark being the first), and to give them as a designation the symbol "Q" (=*Quelle*, source). As has been pointed out by many scholars, these materials sharply differ from Mark in character. Their outstanding feature is that they are chiefly sayings of Jesus; they have only slightly the elements of narrative, and few descriptions of deeds. Thus it has been easy for scholars to conclude that they originated in the Palestinian communities, and were brought to the Hellenistic localities by the early Christian preachers.

However, the problem under discussion deals with the form which the traditions have in the completed Gospels. As was shown in the analysis of the Gospel sources, the Markan outline was re-edited by Matthew and Luke, and with this outline these evangelists combined other materials. Of course it is possible to abstract the Markan outline from the later gospels, and then to identify as the "second source" all those materials which coincide in these Gospels but are not

[5] Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 194–206; more recently, Bacon, *The Story of Jesus*, pp. 172–207.

found in Mark. This has often been done, and several reconstructions of "Q" have been submitted for examination. At present there is a reaction against this attempt; not only was one such reconstruction characterized as "a heap of interesting ruins,"[6] and caution expressed in other quarters,[7] but exponents of the "two-source hypothesis" of Synoptic origins warn that the coincidence of materials is not a sufficient criterion of identification.[8] It is true that there is at present a movement among British scholars who follow the lead of Streeter to reconstruct "proto-Luke,"[9] but it is difficult to see how a happier result can follow this than the attempt to reconstruct "Q". As was shown before, it is never possible to demonstrate what part of these materials belonged to a source and what part was furnished by the Gospel writer.

At all events, one seeking to perceive the impact of a Gospel upon its public must deal with the work as it was planned by its writer. It is obvious that the most important feature in the effect of a Gospel is concerned with its object and plan as a whole. All constituent parts subserve this end. It may sometimes be seen that separate parts afford the individuality which the work possesses; for example, in the Gospel according to Matthew it is the peculiar portions which characterize it. These materials may be taken from a special source or they may be the creation of the writer, but in any case it is because they subserve the main purpose of the work that they are so important to it.

The Gospel according to Matthew, read as a whole, is to be understood as making an appeal to a public of both Jews and Gentiles, the work maintaining a viewpoint in which it

[6] By Resch, referring to the work of Wendt.

[7] Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, pp. 18 ff.

[8] Bacon, *The Story of Jesus*, pp. 172 ff.

[9] Cf. *Theology*, XIV (1927), No. 81, 131–164.

urges a position independent of all rival groups. The community of which its point of view is a product has achieved a certain position in the complex of religious appeals being made in its surroundings, and, as speaking for its group, it is seeking not only to furnish a sufficient basis for its self-maintenance, but also to advance its claims among the people of its milieu. Its group appears to be securely based in religious experience, and has been growing for a time sufficient to secure for it a self-consciousness in which there is observable a certain intellectual quality. Not unnaturally this quality is the more readily perceivable in its operation with reference to Judaism, for it is here that the interest of polemic appears. On the other hand, its appeal to the non-Jew is the more naïve since in this relation the need for apologetic was not yet so evident. But the purpose of the work was to influence any such groups in its environment, with the object of advancing the claims of its own society as a religious body independent of, and competing with, rivals.

It has commonly been understood that the position of the writer was that of one who had come into the Christian group from Judaism, and that the type of Christianity which he was advocating was primarily Jewish in character. His work has been regarded as exponent of "Jewish Christianity"; it has been pointed out that in it Christianity seems to be regarded as the new law, and Jesus the new lawgiver who cautioned his followers not to go into any way of the Gentiles nor into any city of the Samaritans, but whose mission was to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and whose purpose should be realized ere his disciples had made the round of the Israelitish cities.

But it is quite as much a part of the point of view of the work to represent foreigners as the first to seek out the infant Jesus, while Jews rejected him; to have Jesus praise the faith

of a foreigner as greater than that seen in Israel; to picture many coming from the East and West to recline with Abraham in the Kingdom of Heaven, while the sons and daughters of the Kingdom are cast out into the outer darkness. The disciples, Jesus predicts, will be persecuted in the synagogues, but this will be by way of testimony to those of the synagogues and to Gentiles. The fate of the Jewish cities will be as that of Sodom and Gomorrah, since they had behaved as heathen cities would not. Jesus is rebuffed in the synagogue of his townsmen; he remarks that a prophet is not without honor save in his own country. He points the moral of an obvious parable in the statement that the Kingdom of Heaven shall be taken away from its original stewards and given to a nation bringing forth its proper fruits. Words concerning the end of the age contain the point that it shall not occur until the nations are evangelized. Jews accept the responsibility for the death of Jesus: "His blood be upon us and upon our children." Jesus' final instruction to his followers is that they make disciples of all the nations.

Indubitably there are contrary points of view in this Gospel, but both are equally characteristic of the work and must be understood in spite of the contradiction. They indicate that the evangelist, whether or not he came into his Christian fellowship from Judaism, was writing as the exponent of a group which was independent of Jewish and gentile religious groups, and was bidding for their support. He uses as teaching materials certain data which exhibit sympathy with Jews and certain other which show attraction for non-Jews. These teaching materials, as the products of groups in which various interests are reflected, naturally contain varying points of view.

As one of the interests of the Gospel according to Matthew the picture of the Pharisees in their relation with Jesus

furnishes a typical response to this urge from the problems of its milieu. In comparing the picture in the Markan source with the form which it occupies in the Matthean edition of these materials a notable advance is seen. Similarly, in comparing the Matthean with the Lukan form of the materials common to these gospels but absent from Mark it is also apparent that it is an advance form of tradition which is contained in Matthew. Finally, the materials which are found only in Matthew exhibit an extreme form of anti-Pharisaic polemic.

These matters may be noted by a reading of the Gospel. Pharisees are introduced into the story of the preaching of John, and, with the Sadducees, are called children of snakes and controverted in what is alleged to be their particular pride: Abrahamic descent (Matthew 3:1–4:17). Obviously, it is Jewish nationalism which is at issue here, and this is a matter in which the practice of the church at Antioch is known; from the beginning Christianity there was gentile, so that it was in response to later conservatism that the reactionary point of view was urged, and in the conflict Paul argued as though the non-nationalistic attitude was self-evidently proper. In the issue which John raises Jesus figures as the leader of a movement in which the nationalism of Judaism was discounted. It is noteworthy that in the plan of Matthew Jesus associates himself with John and begins the assembly of his own disciples while thus associated, so that this beginning is made before it is alleged that he began to teach in the synagogues. This is a significant alteration of the Markan plan.

The same interest which leads Matthew to picture foreigners as the first to seek out Jesus leads him to picture the beginning of Jesus' work as in a situation where non-Jews share with Jews the benefit of his labor; not only does he

work in Galilee of the nations (4:15), but as he teaches and heals in Galilee his fame extends to all Syria, as well as into other districts not strictly Jewish.

One of the most remarkable features of the Matthean picture of the Pharisees is the presentation of the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew, chaps. 5–7). In this pronouncement, strikingly early in the plan of the Gospel, it is clear that the new movement is contrasted with the old in the antithesis of "You have heard . . . . but I say unto you." The contrast becomes explicit in the sentence, "Unless your justness exceed [that] of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall by no means enter the kingdom of heaven." It is the same contrast which is implicit in the teachings (peculiar to Matthew) about alms, prayer, and fasting; though Pharisees are not mentioned, it would have been plain to anyone, who knew the elements of Jewish teaching, as it is plain today, that by the "hypocrites in the synagogues" none but the Pharisees are intended. Their standard is, as the content of the teaching indicates, different from that of the Christian group.

As the history of the interpretation of this passage shows, the character which is here alleged of Jewish behavior is quite denied by the known facts. Not only did the elder Lightfoot search long and vainly for an illustration of the use of a trumpet in almsgiving, but it is equally true that the other counts of hypocrisy cannot be substantiated by examples. There is here no true picture of Jewish piety, nor is there in the preceding chapter of the Sermon any true delineation of Jewish spirituality. But it should not be necessary to labor this point; it is sufficient to note that the teaching of the Sermon is accounted for as the Christian ideal is cited in contrast with both the Jewish and the gentile ideals. Scholars who have exercised themselves in studying the implied relations between the new faith and Judaism might with

equal point have noticed that in the Sermon the gentile standard is combated quite as sharply as is the Jewish: Do not even the Gentiles salute their brothers? And do they not use vain repetitions in prayer, hoping to be heard by their many words? these Gentiles, who are overanxious for the things of life. It is in distinction from Jew and Gentile that the Christian is the salt of the earth and the light of the world. It is true that in the Sermon there is maintained an advanced position of anti-Jewish polemic, but it is also true that the gentile position is controverted. Both are contrasted with the writer's proper attitude, which is advanced in the interest of conserving and promoting the prestige of his group.

As the work continues, if the Jews are more pointedly criticized than are the Gentiles in the Sermon on the Mount, in an incident which follows their degree of faith is unfavorably contrasted with that of the Gentiles. Not only did the centurion maintain a superior faith as he came with his request, but the superiority occasioned the prediction that Gentiles shall supplant Jews in fellowship with the patriarchs in the Kingdom (8:10 f.).

The Markan outline is resumed as the subject matter is the story of the paralytic, the arguments about fasting, and the like (9:1–17). Matthew's changes are slight, amounting to hardly more than a more specific identification. As in Mark, the contrast between Christian and Jewish customs of fasting and social intercourse is the point of the teaching; the Christian does not conform to the older customs, and has in these teachings convenient reasons to cite in justification.

It is perhaps in the interest of minimizing the implication of Jesus' friendship with a Jewish leader that Matthew alters Mark's identification of a "ruler of the synagogue" to simply "a ruler" (9:18).

As Jesus is represented as continuing his healing activity,

the Gospel characteristically causes Pharisees to offer the derogatory explanation that it was by the chief of the demons that he exorcized demons (9:34). But in spite of their attitude Jesus went to all places, teaching in synagogues, preaching, and healing. He regarded the crowds as unshepherded flocks, and hoped for laborers to assist him in his work (9:35–38).

Another feature of Matthew is the assembled discourse to the Twelve (chap. 10) who, as though in response to Jesus' hope, are sent out upon a mission similar to his. The directions given them include the limitation of their effort to Jewish cities; they are forbidden to go among Gentiles. Yet it is not expected that they shall be favorably received by Jews, and cities which do not receive them are to fare less happily than did Sodom and Gomorrah. Indeed, in these Jewish cities the emissaries are like sheep in the midst of wolves. Men will have them tried, and will cause them to be beaten in synagogues. Nevertheless, they are to endure such treatment, for before they shall have made the round of the Jewish cities the Son of Man shall have come. Therefore they are encouraged, and it is pointed out that Jesus' coming was to be an occasion of discord in even so close a fellowship as the home. Some, of course, would receive the apostles, and any such should be rewarded.

Were this discourse in the Fourth Gospel, its interpretation would have occasioned no difficulty, for then it would have been found to fit perfectly into the theme of this work, that Jesus "came to his own, and his own did not receive him; but as many as received him he gave the right to become sons of God." The impression of Matthew's Jewishness has so long dominated that it is difficult thus to understand the conflicting directions by which the mission is restricted to Jews, and yet it is predicted that there will be

persecution from Jews. There should be no difficulty when the message is placed over against the experiences of the Christian leaders. This is an interpretation of their experiences. Like that of Acts, it is an intellectual accounting for the present gentile status of the movement. Like Acts, it supposes that the movement by divine direction had its beginning in Judaism, but, due to rejection by Jews, its offer had been withdrawn and made to Gentiles, who had accepted. This message of instruction represents the offer which, when refused, cleared the way to the making of disciples of all the nations.

Again, the reference to John (11:2–19), which praises him as above all men but below the least in the Kingdom, is quite like the Fourth Gospel; Matthew, too, seems to have had a word for the cult of the Baptist.

The Johannine character of the ejaculatory prayer (11:25–30) which stands at the end of the section has often been noticed, but it is quite as apparent that the point of view of the whole section is Johannine.

In the plan of Matthew, as compared with Mark, the synagogue conflicts are placed late (12:9–14). The changes in detail are slight, perhaps the most significant being the deletion of the mention of the Herodians as with the Pharisees plotting against Jesus. The responsibility is thus placed solely upon the Pharisees, but this evidently was not unsuitable to the evangelist's object, while the reference to Herodians probably would be meaningless to his public.

The allegation of Jesus' use of demonic power in exorcism (12:22–37) has in Matthew a similar heightening of anti-Pharisaic polemic. In Mark the charge was made by the scribes who came down from Jerusalem; in Matthew it was made by the Pharisees, who later in Jesus' reply, are called children of snakes. This epithet, which had already

been applied to them with the Sadducees, is here used of them alone.

A reading of these stories shows, however, that identifications are quite secondary to the interests exhibited in the accompanying teachings. Those about the Sabbath show the difference between the Jewish and the Christian customs. For the Christians, their Lord was Lord of the Sabbath, who might direct them that on that day, as any other, activity calculated to do good was altogether proper. It may be taken for granted that when a literary source cites the principle "wherefore it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day" it represents a practice of some long standing. It is true that it is not clearly stated to what degree the public of the Matthean Gospel was inclined to modify the Jewish Sabbath customs, but since it was a value to show that Jesus was not entirely regular at this point it may be inferred that the difference between the two groups was easily noticeable.

That the difference between groups was in point is to be seen from Matthew's discourse on the sin of ascribing to evil spirits Jesus' power in exorcism (12:22–37). Just before his work in healing had been made the occasion for citing a motto from Scripture to the effect that he should declare judgment to the nations, so that in his name might the nations hope (12:18–21). It is the same point which is made in the discourse: such words are the basis of account in the day of judgment, since these persons are pronounced acquitted by their words, and likewise by their words are pronounced guilty. It is probable that back of this teaching lies the argument used by opponents to account for what was alleged as Jesus' power in demon control; doubtless a stock retort was that he was successful by means of demonic power. It seems to have been a retort familiar enough to the Synoptic evangelists, who meet it by threatening a sentence

which might never be remitted. Thus such persons as these Pharisees and those "certain of the scribes and Pharisees" who asked for a sign are an evil generation (12:38–45). Unable to distinguish the portents they fail to recognize the greatness of Jesus; their last state shall be worse than the first. The Ninevites and the Queen of the South are in stark contrast with this generation, and shall voice its condemnation.

As in Mark, a high point of anti-Pharisaic polemic appears in the discussion of ritual purity. Matthew states (15: 1–20) that the question was raised by Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem, but he significantly omits Mark's sweeping statement of the extent to which ritual cleansing was practiced among Jews. Doubtless the omission is for correction. He also omits the conclusion that Jesus' pronouncement had the effect of abrogating all distinction of clean and unclean food. But Matthew is quite as antithetical to the Jewish position; he causes Jesus to address the questioners as "you hypocrites," and characterizes them as "blind guides." The teaching stated is, as in Mark, beside the point; the law of vows was not part of the oral tradition, so that the example cited is both incorrect and irrelevant. Obviously nothing except the heightening of the polemical aim is added to the Markan source. The section in Matthew is witness to the combative status of the two groups, and while the writer here exhibits sufficient acquaintance with Jewish customs to omit some of the erroneous details of Mark, he is either less well informed of others, or is unwilling to make the correction which the facts demand. He, doubtless with his group, is willing thus incorrectly to contrast Christian with Jewish values.

The story of the Canaanitish woman is an instructive element of Matthew's narrative (15:21–28). The foreign

woman came to Jesus, since, as Matthew causes Jesus to say, he was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Nevertheless the foreign woman's faith was sufficient to win her desire. The story is most effective in the plan of the Gospel. In it the play of the two interests is plainly seen: Jesus' mission was to Israel, but it was impossible thus narrowly to limit it. What is most important is that, as in the Fourth Gospel, it is represented that a foreigner came to Jesus. It is significant that the foreigner's request was not denied. A basis for the transference of Christian activity to non-Jews is thus effectively furnished.

In a doublet passage the Pharisees, this time with the Sadducees, come again with a request for a sign (16:1–4). As before, their request becomes the occasion of a lesson on their inability to discriminate the signs of the times, and they are characterized as an evil and an adulterous generation. It is not difficult to see how this point of view should be current in Matthew's public, and how this common characterization found its way into literature as a teaching of Jesus.

More heightening of the growing anti-Pharisaic bias is to be seen in Matthew's explanation of Mark's reference to the "leaven" of the Pharisees and of Herod (16:5–12). In Matthew the reference to Herod is altered to mention the Sadducees, and the leaven is taken to mean the teaching of these and the Pharisees. This is tantamount to a caution against the teaching of Judaism, and as such takes its place in the whole purpose of Matthew to supplant Jewish teaching by its true successor.

It is the natural climax to the point here reached in the Gospel that Peter's recognition of Jesus is expanded by Matthew to become the foundation for the church, so that here and in the nearby contexts teaching about the church is cited as an important value.

The contrast of Jewish with Christian standards next appears in the discussion of divorce (19:3–12). Characteristically, Matthew uses the incident to add to his data of anti-Pharisaism; the question is raised by Pharisees to try Jesus. It is, however, raised correctly, as it is not in Mark. What is important is the qualification put by Matthew into the mouth of Jesus, and the added saying with reference to celibacy. For Matthew divorce has certain permissible ground, but even so the point of his form of the teaching is that the Christian standard is strict; the disciples infer that on so rigorous a basis it is hardly expedient to marry, so that they are taught, somewhat cryptically, that to live without sexual experience is a value for the exceptional person for whom it is possible.

It is easy to see in Matthew's teaching about divorce and the sexual relation the compromise which the practical leader finds it necessary to advise. Matthew's method is far removed from Paul's. He furnishes a legal basis for behavior, rather than trusting, as Paul did, in charismatic inspiration. Doubtless the sexual relation was one in which a legal basis was particularly necessary, and the rule worked out was, to judge from common experience, developed from the practices of the groups. Where the ideal was attained it was excellent, but in cases where adjustment was necessary the rule was determined. The celibate relation was allowed and given high value, but it was recognized that it was possible only for the exceptional few. The community of which the writer was a member was differentiated into several attitudes, in which situation workable harmony might be secured only by the recognition of the differences of opinion.

Anti-Jewish polemic does not involve the Pharisees further in the teaching sections until the narrative reaches the point of Jesus' experiences in Jerusalem. Then the oppo-

nents of Jesus include still others, such as priests. But the Pharisees receive considerable attention, as, for example, when it is said that they perceived that the parable of the Vineyard and its Stewards, with its pointed moral, was addressed to them and to the chief priests (21:45). Likewise they are said to have taken the initiative against Jesus, seeking an occasion to ensnare him in speech. The opportunity chosen was the well-known question about tax payment, for which the Pharisees delegate their disciples with the Herodians (22:15–22). It is interesting that Matthew, who elsewhere fails to follow the Markan source in its reference to Herodians, speaks of them here. It appears from the reference to the Sadducees, which follows (22:23–33), that his purpose was to present Jesus as putting all Jewish groups to confusion, since by this point all have been refuted. It is the Pharisees, however, who are represented as leaders, for after all others are silenced they make one more attempt to put a question (22:34–40), as they ask what one is the great commandment of the law. This answered, Jesus poses to them a difficult question of Scripture interpretation (22:41–46) whose effect was, as the evangelist puts it, that from this point no one dared question him further.

But the initiative now taken by Jesus leads the evangelist to represent him in the most extreme height of anti-Pharisaic polemic, as Mark's brief condemnation of the scribes furnishes the setting for Matthew's assembled discourse against the (scribes and) Pharisees. The long, formal discourse of Matthew 23 has every appearance of being the writer's or at least of being from a peculiar source. It has frequently been noted as Matthew's characteristic to compile discourses, of which five mark the genius of his arrangement within the Markan framework. But this as additional to these lacks the formula with which the evangelist concludes those which

appear to have been chiefly compiled from available source material.[10] It has every appearance of being the contribution of the evangelist, and may be regarded as what he has to say as spokesman for a community in which the polemic here contained was doubtless common.

The conflict is between the Christianity of Matthew's public, presumably Antioch, and Jews who, for all purposes, are described as (scribes and) Pharisees. It is the practice of these Jews which is attacked; the basis of truth assumed to underlie their teaching is assumed to be valid. Of course the Christians appropriated the Scripture, which was the basis of Pharisaic Judaism. But their sympathetic receptiveness ended with that. Characteristic Jewish customs were repudiated: their legalistic norms, their manner of the use of phylacteries and distinctive dress, and such institutions as the synagogue and the rabbinate. Other faults are criticised in detail, such as proselytizing zeal, the alleged Pharisaic customs of oaths and vows, the manner in which they tithed, their neglect of the essential for the nonessential, and, specifically as well as generally, their hypocrisy. Their persecution of Jesus' followers associates them with the whole line of murderers. Undoubtedly the bitterness of this discourse is not exceeded anywhere in Christian polemic.

In the interpretation of this section attention has always been to its application in the actual experiences of Jesus, so that the attempt has been made to find examples of such behavior on the part of the Pharisees. This has led to the interesting and valuable development of the Jewish viewpoint and to the clash of opinion as Jewish interpretation controverts the typical Christian view. In this situation it is clear that the Jewish point of view has the superiority of agree-

[10] Contrast the conclusion of Matthew, chap. 23, with 7:28, 11:1, 13:53, 19:1, 26:1.

ment with the determinable facts in the case, while the Christian comments usually exhibit the most deplorable bias in their willingness to regard so manifest a pronouncement of partisanship as a fair portrait.

If, however, this passage is regarded as reflecting the attitudes, not of Jesus, but of the Christian communities of a sufficiently late date that competition with Jewish groups had led to so highly developed a point of view, the difficulties recede, and the passage becomes useful as a source for a status of which it is desirable to know even more. Just as it is impossible to find a situation in the actual experiences of Jesus when such a discourse might have had its occurrence, it is easy to see that competition between Christian and Jewish groups would bring forth exactly such a series of accusations. The question of accuracy need not be raised, for acquaintance with Jewish literature and the spirit of rabbinical Judaism makes it impossible to substantiate these charges against any considerable group. In any event, when it is seen that the situation is that of the competition of religious groups, and that the competition had developed to the point of defense, a knowledge of the behavior of religious groups makes it entirely comparable to other examples of the same type. To take an obvious illustration, fact is not of primary importance in the arguments cited in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho.*

According to this point of view the materials of Matthew, chapter 23, witness to the acceptance of the scriptural basis claimed by both Pharisaic Judaism and Christianity. Matthew puts into the mouth of Jesus a pronouncement of the validity of the basis. But specific criticism, such as the charges with reference to proselytizing, distinctive customs, tithing, oaths and vows, and the like, may readily be regarded as points at issue in Matthew's community. No doubt the

competition between the Christian cult and Judaism would thus early have led to bitter polemic in the matter of winning adherents from groups of non-Jews. It is clear that this reflects a situation of Hellenistic, rather than Palestinian, Judaism. The remaining counts were likewise relevant to the milieu of the evangelist.

Research makes it entirely clear that there is no warrant for such a wholesale characterization of rabbinical Judaism as hypocritical. As has been affirmed, no known facts point in this direction. Indeed, the reverse is true. Commentators are fond of emphasizing the "seven classes of Pharisees" mentioned in the rabbinical literature, but the reference points to the opposite use. The fact is that the spiritual leadership in rabbinical Judaism was quite alive to the necessity of maintaining a sincere standard.

But when the data are referred to religious groups in competition the behavior of such groups sufficiently illuminates the passage. This is especially true in such a case as that in which one group, much younger in its growth, is competing with a fully established faith. The vigor necessitated by the situation results in an extremity of accusation in which an ability to substantiate the charge with facts is a minor consideration.

This is what is found as the anti-Pharisaic bias of Matthew reaches its height. Hypocrisy had been alleged more than once before; here the attitude which has throughout the Gospel led to the recital of several unfavorable evaluations has been given full release, with the resultant production of a veritable onslaught of anti-Pharisaic polemic.

In Matthew, finally, the factor of anti-Pharisaism appears explicitly in the narratives of the death and, by implication, the resurrection of Jesus (27:62–66). The Pharisees are said to have been associated with the chief priests as ap-

proaching Pilate in order to forestall a resurrection claim. This is in a section peculiar to Matthew, similar to another (28:11–15) in which the chief priests (the Pharisees are not mentioned) broach a plot to account for the alleged resurrection, which plot, the source states, was current "among the Jews to this day." It is almost too obvious to point out that there is reflected here a stock argument of Jewish opponents which had its reflection, not in the days immediately after the beginning of the Christian cult, but in those of its self-conscious competition with rivals.

Even so brief a review of the traditions of the Matthean Gospel shows a notable development in the direction of anti-Pharisaic and anti-Jewish attitudes. This tendency is to be seen in all the elements of the work: in its edition of the Markan source, in its working over of source materials shared with Luke, and in the peculiar materials which are either the remnants of sources or are the contribution of the evangelist. In the edition of the Markan source the usual factor by which this tendency is developed is that of making explicit identification as Pharisees of groups or individuals where by Mark the identification is less certain. It is easy to see how by this means the Pharisees tend to become a type of Jesus' opponents. Exactness and verisimilitude as secured by details of the known features of the Pharisees do not matter; truly or falsely, whether deservedly or undeservedly, the Pharisees are in Matthew much more unmistakably Jesus' enemies.

In the materials in which the common use with Luke of non-Markan source materials is indicated, much of the character alleged of the Pharisees seems to have been given by the editors. Both agree in emphasizing such matters as the non-nationalistic nature of John's movement, and in this connection Matthew cites bitter reproach of the Pharisees. Both tell

such stories as that of the restoration of the foreigner's slave, with the moral that the superior faith of the foreigner presages the supplanting of Jews by foreigners in the kingdom. But, as is seen by comparing the Matthean with the Lukan account, exactly that tendency to remove the details of friendly relation between Jesus and prominent Jews appears in Matthew. As was shown of his edition of Mark, so his edition of the non-Markan materials exhibits anti-Pharisaic bias in the making of identifications. It is in the consonance of the materials common to Matthew and Luke in the denunciation of the (scribes and) Pharisees that the height of the tendency is seen, and it is easy to perceive that the particular emphasis so apparent in Matthew is secured by his editorial arrangement.

But the highest point of the anti-Pharisaism is found in the sections peculiar to Matthew. Here the repeated epithets of serpents, children of vipers, blind guides, and hypocrite have become a commonly accepted designation of the entire group. It is here that their ostentation in alms, fasts, and prayers is fastened upon them.

Of even greater importance is the factor, which appears in this connection, which demonstrates the group as the primary force in thus delineating the Pharisees. This is to be seen at points where a source, either Mark, the materials shared with Luke, or perhaps a peculiar source, furnishes the setting for an incident in which Matthew completely alters the aspect suggested by the source by adding features of his own. One set of such data is those in which the creation of the operation of the church is mentioned. Thus Mark's narrative of Peter's confession of Jesus' messiahship is in Matthew given the supplement which identifies Peter as the rock upon which the church is to be built. There is somewhat of a parallel in Luke for Matthew's saying about reconciliation with one's

brother, but to this Matthew adds the rule that more difficult cases are to be brought to the church, and follows the saying with another form of the famous statement about binding and loosing. It is the interest in the Christian group as a separate and an individual corporation which is basic in such passages as these, and it is the maintenance of the integrity of the Christian group which is the primary purpose of the entire work. The heightening of the references to the Pharisees contributed to this end, since the term might by Matthew's readers be taken as a sufficient identification of Jews as a whole.

To view the Gospel according to Matthew in this light appears to be the way to account for the development of traditions of the Pharisees. The progress of research in interpretation makes steadily clearer the fact that there is no place in the experience of Jesus for such highly articulated antipathy to or from Pharisees, and that the portrait of the Pharisees by this work is grossly of the nature of caricature. On the other hand, the development of the traditions quite naturally and satisfactorily is accounted for as the distinction between Christian and Jewish religious groups went on apace. The two social and religious groups continued to maintain themselves in competition in such communities as that of Antioch, where the Christian movement, by nature gentile, came into contact with large and significant Jewish colonies, so that the necessities of growth and advancement effected in each cult the divisive lines which are exhibited in the Antiochean gospel.

V

THE AEGEAN COMMUNITIES AND THE LITERATURE OF DEFENSE

NOTHING is clearer than that in the communities of the Aegean Basin the problems of Christianity in its early maturity were largely concerned with Jewish competition. When the movement reached the point where it began to produce a literature of defense one of the apparent interests in such writing was the persistent advancement of its claims against the Jews. Justin's *Trypho* is but one example of many such. The same factor has been shown by a review of the sources to have appeared in the New Testament writings as well, as the Fourth Gospel and Acts assume their characteristically objective attitude toward "the Jews."

Nor do these works exhaust the examples. Reflection points to such sayings elsewhere as those of Revelation in its letters to the Asian churches, as it refers to the troubles caused its readers by "those who say that they are Jews, but who are not, but are a synagogue of Satan"; who, the work says, will be forced to come and worship before the feet of the persecuted (Rev. 2:9, 3:9). And, as attention moves to the earlier phases of growth, it is recalled that these communities are those in which the basis of anti-Jewish polemic was abundantly laid by the leadership of Paul. Such attitudes are plainly perceptible, as has been pointed out, in the later Pauline (and in the perhaps pseudo-Pauline) letters.

These references merely confirm what might be inferred as the history of Christianity in these localities is studied with reference to what is known of its background. The proportion of Jews in the population of such cities as Ephesus and Corinth was not so great as in Syria,[1] but their number was sufficient to cause the Christian movement to take it into account as it came into conscious conflict with rival religions. Doubtless the superiority in numbers of the non-Jews was sufficient to make the problems of competition with the gentile religions the more pressing for growing Christianity. Probably this is the explanation of its more apparent adaptation in these communities to such gentile cults as the mysteries, and to raise as the more difficult problems for its defenders those which arose from the Greek philosophies.

But, at least in the days when the future of the movement was less certain, the problems raised by relations with Jews were of great importance. It is probable that these problems were the more acute and the more perplexing since the Jews of these communities had long been located in gentile regions, so that they had been to a degree Hellenized. Such a fact would have operated to Christianity's advantage in the earlier stages, when difficulty of distinguishing it secured an immunity from state interference to which any new cult was liable. But as it assumed a position of importance the same fact would be a liability rather than an asset, for Christians in these localities quickly came to terms with their environment, and, seeing that their future as a gentile cult was with Gentiles, it was not long until it was to their own interest to be clearly distinguished from Jews.

As it has been maintained in this study, it was nothing

[1] Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, I, 209 ff.; Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, I, 8.

more than the logic of the situation which led the inarticulate basis of anti-Jewish attitude which had been laid by Paul to become definitely articulated shortly following the currency of Christianity in these regions. Since the cult here owed its establishment so largely to Paul's leadership, and since it was an item of dearest importance even to Paul that Christians should be outside the Jewish race and free from obligation to observe the Jewish law, it is altogether natural that the movement should have developed as thoroughly un-Jewish. While it has met with resistance from a number of scholars, it may be predicted confidently that further research will cause it to appear as natural that the nascent cult should have taken on the well-known features of the current gentile religions. Such seems to have been the case, and such adaptation quite inevitably made Christianity subject to the polemic of Jewish teaching. It is likely that critical evaluations between the two movements were first made by Jews, since Judaism had its intellectual features highly developed, and since it had for centuries been compelled to defend itself against pagan encroachments.

It is remarkable that a number of references point to Jewish initiative in competition with emerging Christianity. While in the earliest situations known the gentile character of the movement was primary, and the Pauline leadership in keeping it gentile placed the aggressive with him, it seems to be suggested in his later letters that the Christian groups were meeting with criticism from Jewish as well as gentile rivals, so that the letters appear to be on the defensive. The Aegean Gospels of Luke and John represent Jesus as constantly harassed by Jewish opponents, and Acts pictures the leaders of the new movement as ever meeting with plots from Jews. It is not urged that these traditions have value as correctly representing the original situations, but, as shall be

shown presently, they suggest that such was the situation in their own times. The notes of Jewish opposition in Revelation are to the same effect; Jews, dubbed synagogues of Satan, cause embarrassment to the apocalyptist's own group.

To be sure, when the competition has reached the point where the literary defenses appear, the initiative has passed to the Christians, for by this time they have had sufficient establishment that their future is assured. Indeed, it seems that the arguments of the apologies are of such a stock nature that they are like straw men set up merely to be knocked down. Such arguments appear to function for the benefit of the Christian group rather than as actually meeting a genuine conflict of values.

In so late a source as the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* occurs a note that in the events leading to the death of this venerable teacher the Jews took an active part (12:2, 13:1). It is doubtless true, as is pointed out by Abrahams,[2] that any such opposition in which Jews took the initiative was but the argumentative defense of a faith by its own adherents in the face of possible encroachment. But there is little doubt that in the communities of the Aegean Basin the competition between Christians and Jews led to the rise of the literature of defense.

This was a natural course, since in every such case the intellectual aspects of a religion are late to develop. Judaism had sufficient advance over Christianity in age and experience that this feature was for her ready to hand when the Christians began to appear. The phase of intellectual adaptation was specially advanced in the Greek world, since here the exigencies of the situations in which Jews found themselves presented a different set of questions from those raised for Palestinian teachers. Philo is a convenient example of the

[2] Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 2d series, pp. 67–69.

Jewish mind in contact with Greek thought, and though he represents Alexandria, it is quite likely that similar adaptation occurred in such a center as Ephesus. Christians, on the other hand, had as earlier problems the necessities of making their way as an obscure cult among those which were flourishing and popular. Their problems were first practical, and it was not until the requirements of foundation and growth were met that the intellectual values of their religion might be cultivated.

Unfortunately, the references of Revelation, implying Jewish embarrassment of Christians in relation to state opposition, cannot be controlled by other sources. To be sure, there are the traditions of Acts, which are all to the effect that when Christians came to the notice of the state the issue was by no means unfavorable to them. But these are patently contributory to the easily detectable apologetic purpose of this work. Aside from this there is available only Paul's instruction, which applied earlier. In the absence of tangible evidence it is possible only to appeal to the psychology of religious groups, and common practice indicates that it would not be impossible for representatives of a favored group to denounce members of a suspect group to the authorities.

At all events it is significant that the relevant sources exhibit the combination of the interests of religious competition and the defense of the Christian movement in the face of state opposition. So important is the latter factor in Revelation that it overshadows the other. It appears that the problems of Luke-Acts might be much nearer solution if the work were regarded as functioning in the situation of the Domitianic suppression. Cadbury's suggestion of an apologetic purpose in Luke's preface[3] lends itself to this refine-

[3] Cadbury, "The Purpose Expressed in Luke's Preface," *The Expositor*, VIII, No. 31 (1921), 431–441.

ment, as does also the literary argument for the late date of Acts.[4] So to regard Luke-Acts makes these combined interests assume a force which goes far to illumine the total impact of the work upon its readers.[5] In the case of the Fourth Gospel the passage of the few years between the publication of Luke-Acts and its own appearance were sufficient to clarify the atmosphere with reference to state opposition; its messages largely shape themselves about the purpose of the aggressive appeal of Christianity to its public.

The data of Luke-Acts and the Fourth Gospel may thus be regarded together as applying to similar problems from a closely related point of view. Such a relation is not surprising in this environment, for it was the locale of the Aegean Basin where the churches first achieved that closely knit interrelation which is shown by the astonishing volume of Christian literature produced here. It is one of the most interesting of the phenomena of early Christian history which thus occurred: the earliest consciousness of what the sociologist would call the secondary group relation. It was in Asia where the unified impact of Christianity upon a province was first felt, with such important results as are suggested by the production of a voluminous literature and the collection of previously existing writings.[6] To be sure, it is the later stages of this movement which are most easily perceived, but it is urged that to place Luke-Acts and the Fourth Gospel in the continuity of the process greatly assists in understanding them.

Much more than in Syria the environment of early

[4] Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 29–31, 311–313.

[5] Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 308–315.

[6] This point is discussed thoroughly by Professor Goodspeed, *New Solutions of New Testament Problems*.

Christianity in the Aegean Basin was a complex of widely differing cults. Not only were there many synagogues and numerous flourishing gentile cults, but the rise and currency of the cult of the Emperor had important effect upon the new movement.[7] The sentiment of patriotism which led the Asians to be the first to propose this addition to existing cults operated as a highly important force; if the cult of the Emperor is reflected in Revelation, the local patriotism basic to it is equally reflected in Luke-Acts.

In fine, when works as late as Luke-Acts and the Fourth Gospel were written, the Christian movement had gone far toward the achievement of unity and the consciousness of the relation of its groups in separated localities. Its consolidation[8] brought about a new phase in its relation with rivals.[9] The competition with Jewish groups had reached a stage where it was felt that the battle was won; the movement stood out as distinct from Judiasm. It was placed now with reference to events of the Empire; its outstanding periods were dated by Roman administrations, and allusions to provincial political organization had point. When the Fourth Gospel was written, so greatly had the situation developed that it was unnecessary to name certain Jewish groups. Indeed, the atmosphere common to the two works is one in which Jesus moves as superior and victor, contrasting with Jewish leaders as a great humanitarian who in spite of machinations won followers from official Judiasm, but whose interest was with non-Jews, so that the inevitable outcome of his effort was that the movement providentially became the property of others.

It has often been marked that in the case of the evangelist Luke there was a detailed knowledge of certain Jewish

[7] Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity*, pp. 195–238.

[8] Case, *The Social Origins of Christianity*, pp. 161–207.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 208–254.

customs and institutions. For example, it is a matter of importance that Luke-Acts is a source for the knowledge of the contemporary synagogue order.[10] Many explanations for this have been suggested. But what is more likely than that the advanced stage of competition with Judaism had brought to intelligent Christian leaders this much knowledge of an institution with which acquaintance was readily possible? At any rate the detailed story of a synagogue experience which is Luke's introduction of Jesus to his public work (Luke 4:16–30) patently contributes to the whole purpose of Luke-Acts. The occasion is used to enunciate the character of Jesus' work, an interpretation in which the theme is the contrast between the broad lines of Jesus' purpose and the proverbial unresponsiveness of a prophet's own country. The occasion becomes one of such bitter criticism that Jesus, already identified in the work in broader than Jewish terms, is in this introduction to his work repudiated by his people even to the point where they are pictured as seeking to do him injury.

As Luke's narrative proceeds, Pharisees are explicitly identified in relation with Jesus. They question his pronouncement of forgiveness (5:17–26); they murmur because his followers associate with unacceptable persons (5:29–32); their custom of fasting is contrasted with that of the disciples (5:33–39); they object to the disciples' manner of Sabbath observance (6:1–5); they, with the scribes, scrutinize Jesus' behavior to find a basis for an accusation of Sabbath-breaking (6:6–11); and are filled with madness and take counsel what to do about Jesus (6:11). Yet, when Luke reports Jesus' "sermon," his form is without the strictures which at this point occur in Matthew.

The Lukan form of the story of the healing of the centurion's slave (7:2–10) is interesting. The centurion is com-

[10] Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 1st series, pp. 1–17.

mended by some Jews, who call attention to his love of their nation and to his having built their synagogue. As in Matthew, the centurion's faith is praised, but the note about non-Jews feasting in the Kingdom does not appear, although it occurs elsewhere (13:28–30).

By his changes in order and content of succeeding materials Luke further involves Pharisees. In Jesus' discussion of John, Luke adds the note that the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected the counsel of God, being not baptized by him (7:30). This is a significant difference from Matthew's account, which notes Pharisees coming to John's baptism. With Luke, however, John's is a proletarian movement.

In the next section occurs the story, peculiar to Luke, of the anointing of Jesus' feet while he was dining with one Simon, a Pharisee (7:36–50). It would appear that the purpose of the story was to emphasize the teaching about forgiveness. Details by which this is realized include the somewhat ungentle criticism of the manners of the host, and by the same token exhibit the discourtesy of the criticism.

The next notable phenomenon in Luke's materials and their arrangement is his inclusion of much of the matter of Matthew's famous discourse against the scribes and the Pharisees in quite another context (11:37–44, 45–54). Asked to dine with a Pharisee, and observed to omit ceremonial ablution, Jesus proceeded to criticize "You Pharisees" for their hypocrisy, using the figure of the outside of the cup and the platter, and averring that while they tithed kitchen materials they neglected justice. However, Jesus' words are to the effect that both justice and the tithing laws should be maintained. Additional charges are that the Pharisees seek recognition and that they are hypocrites. The scribes are introduced, and are charged with imposing unbearable burdens which they themselves do not assume, with association in the mur-

der of the prophets, and with both taking away the key of knowledge and failing themselves to use it. The conclusion to the section notes extreme enmity between Jesus and the scribes and the Pharisees, to the point where they seek occasions to use against him.

It is quite apparent that the form which these materials are given in Luke lacks the dramatic character possessed by Matthew's account. Indeed, the materials do not seem to function as they do in Matthew, where they appear to have direct relevance to the problems of the Christian community. Here they seem rather to be preserved without the close reference to their situations, or to be taken from sources and used as quoted materials might serve. Such is the force also of Luke's interpretation of the "leaven of the Pharisees" (12:1), of which the source is Mark. As does Matthew, Luke says that by this hypocrisy was meant. It appears that Luke is indebted to his sources for these data. He does not, as does the writer of the Fourth Gospel, shape his story anew, but reworks existing materials even though they lack relevance.

Without effective context Luke introduces references to synagogue opposition, both predicting it as the fate of Jesus' followers and describing it as Jesus' experience (12:11, 13: 10–17). It is also apart from such an effective location as it has in Matthew that Luke reports the saying about members of the Kingdom coming from the four corners of the earth to recline with the patriarchs while "you" are outside (13: 28–30).

Although there is the mention of certain Pharisees who play the part of friends to warn Jesus against Herod (13: 31), when one of the rulers of the Pharisees invites him to dine, others were critically watching him to see if he would heal on the Sabbath. He confounds his critics, after healing

a dropsical man, by enunciating a principle of behavior. There can be no doubt that the teaching is the primary value in the incident; the story is related by Luke (14:1–6) to offer sanction in an alleged experience of Jesus for the common standard of Christians with reference to Sabbath behavior.

Similarly, Pharisees and scribes furnish background (15: 1 f.), in the series of parables about the lost, for the teaching of individual redemption as it was used by Christian groups. Obviously, the redemptive emphasis of these teachings is not Jewish, but it seems to have been the delight of Christian evangelists to contrast their standard with that of Jewish leaders, taking as the example from the life of Jesus his alleged habit of association with persons unacceptable to restricted groups. The correlation of the parables, with their motto, "The son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost," is obviously with the Hellenistic salvation cults.

Near these parables occurs one of those characterizations of the Pharisees which, having struck the fancy of Christian anti-Pharisaism, has become a normative picture. Hearing Jesus' sayings, "the Pharisees, who were lovers of money," scoffed at him. This reference is the source for the reputation which has remained and is still uncritically accepted by most Christians. As a matter of fact, it has no warrant in known cases. The Pharisees as the party of the people were sharply distinguished from the Sadducees, who, as the priestly families, in many cases possessed great wealth. Pharisaic scribes were all workers, not allowed to accept payment for teaching. It was the common tradition that the Pharisees lived meanly.[11] In Jewish sources they are the "poor ones," who are contrasted with the wealthy Saddu-

[11] Josephus, *War* i., 1, 3.

cees.[12] To be sure, the statement is not that they were rich, but that they loved money; possibly poor persons may have loved money. Nevertheless the fact remains that from all available evidence there is no warrant for thus describing Pharisees.

It is notable that the characterization is Luke's own, and is not ascribed to Jesus. This adds to the probability that it is made with reference to Luke's milieu, and it is entirely possible, since the Jews of the Aegean Basin doubtless profited by the notable commercial prosperity of the Aegean cities, that there may have been, if not a warrant, at least an occasion for the charge in the economic competition between Christians and Jews.[13] Unfortunately, little knowledge of the economic competition of the early Christians with those of their several environments is available, but it is an attractive hypothesis that such competition further drew the lines between groups. In any case the justice of the characterization cannot be established. Any statement about wealth in Luke must be regarded in the light of his evident bias in that respect.

In contrast with so unfriendly a characterization the interest of the Pharisees in the Kingdom of God leads to a significant teaching: the Kingdom of God is within them (17:20 f.). It is witness to the degree of bias to which Christian interpreters can go that the attempt is made so to translate the quite obvious Greek as to avoid the implication that

[12] *Psalms of Solomon* 8:18; 10:7; 15:1; 16:12; *Assumption of Moses* 7:6.

[13] Professor J. F. Balzer, who has investigated the economic relations of the early Christians, regards this statement as one in which "the Pharisees" is equivalent to "the Jews," and takes it as implying economic competition between the groups. If the interpretation is sound it is interesting as appearing in a source emanating from the Aegean milieu which contained such an important economic center as Corinth.

these Pharisees had the Kingdom within them.[14] This section is a pleasant inconsistency in the line of unfriendly matter in Luke; it is fortunate that the picture is thus slightly lighted up.

But in the familiar parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (18:9–14) the unfriendly attitude is resumed and greatly heightened. Here is another of those cartoons in miniature which have done so much to produce the common impression of the Pharisees. It may again be said that so far as available evidence points, there is no warrant for charging Pharisees with formalism or unspirituality in their prayer habits. It is impossible to find a basis for such a charge in the situations of Jesus. But if attention is directed to the situations of the Gospel writers, the criticism of the prayer habits of one group by another doubtless was on the same basis of fact as, for example, the criticism of liturgical prayers by non-liturgical groups. Since it was in point for Christian leaders to affirm the superiority of the customs of their own group, it was a simple matter for this interest to become the agent for the production of such alleged teachings of Jesus.

As the narrative brings Jesus to the events in Jerusalem, the Pharisees are introduced as attempting to quench the enthusiasm of the disciples (19:39), but it is significant that at this point the chief of Jesus' opponents are the chief priests and the scribes. The Pharisees are not prominently drawn into the conflict. For example, where both Mark and Matthew identify the questioners about payment of taxes as instigated by Pharisees, Luke has it that they were scribes and chief priests. Pharisees are not mentioned. It is thus even more significant, in view of the fact that Luke greatly altered both the occasion and the content of the materials of the denunciation of scribes and Pharisees, that in the same

[14] Plummer, *International Critical Commentary, Luke*, pp. 406 f.

context he closely parallels Mark's denunciation of the scribes, but without mentioning Pharisees. Indeed, as the passion story is told, the Pharisees have already played their rôle in the narrative of Luke.

How far in advance of the traditions found in Luke are those of the Fourth Gospel? A survey of the references shows that a number of identifications are made, so that Pharisees appear in connection with Jesus' experiences. But in many such cases they have the aspect of mere background and local color. Taking the data of the Fourth Gospel in relation to the earlier formulations, it would seem that its references may be understood as the use of tradition of rather long standing, but without any high degree of verisimilitude. The obvious line of distinction for the religious groups was between the Christians as such and "the Jews," but, since specific identifications afforded a certain degree of color, and since there were identifications in the earlier sources, the Gospel writer varied his usual reference to "the Jews" by citing, upon occasion, particular groups. Of these the Pharisees appear the most importantly. Strangely enough, although they appear in the earlier sources, the Sadducees and the scribes are not mentioned.

This fact alone suggests that the identifications of the Fourth Gospel are not made with vital connection of fact. To the Gospel's public, as to its writer, it did not greatly matter, since "the Jews" were the party of the opposition, whether particular groups of Jews were correctly designated, so long as the narrative itself was convincing.

The suggestion has been offered, as the reason for the more important place of the Pharisees in the Fourth Gospel, that other groups in Judaism had, in the years between 70 A.D. and the time of the Gospel's composition, lost their importance, while the Pharisees had not. The reverses suffered

by the temple group after the fall of Jerusalem, it is said, may account for the lack of mention of the Sadducees, for example. It is indubitable, in the development of Judaism subsequent to the fall of the state, that the rabbis were the group of the highest importance. It is true that the spiritual values of surviving Judaism were the results of the labors and influence of the Pharisees.

However, this explanation of the Fourth Gospel's manner of identification is unconvincing, for when the data are compared with those of slightly later works, the latter suggest the same lack of verisimilitude as does the Gospel. For example, in Justin's *Dialogue* the inclusion with the Pharisees in a list of Jewish groups[15] of the Sadducees, Genistae, Meristae, Galileans, Hellenists, and Baptists, casts doubt upon the exact knowledge of any of them. Similarly, this defense of Christianity refers to Jesus' death at the hands of the scribes and Pharisees in a manner which fails to suggest more than a convenient use of names.[16]

It is the rise of the literature of defense which marks the status of tradition in the Fourth Gospel. This work is one, but by no means the only one, in which the consciousness of separateness between Christians and Jews is axiomatic. Furthermore, it is equally apparent that there is no desire to bridge the gap. The movement in which this work is engaged is content to go another way; it is the coming of the Greeks which marks its outlook, and the notice of this is implicit at several points in its plan. Somewhat earlier works, as has been pointed out, mark the earlier stages of the situation; the objective manner in which "the Jews" are mentioned in Acts is probably the earliest point which can be identified. The attitude toward Jews in Revelation is but

[15] *Dialogue with Trypho,* 80:4.

[16] *Ibid.,* 17:4, 51:2, 76:7, 100:3, 102:5, 103:1, 105:6, 137:2.

little farther advanced, in time as in degree. A literature of defense requires the consciousness of difference, and this consciousness is found not only in the earliest known apologies, but in these writings of the New Testament itself. An objective distinction of Christians from both Jews and Greeks was evidently made by the so-called *Preaching of Peter*.[17] Such another early apologist as Aristides makes a similar distinction.[18] Naturally, when so fully developed a work as that of Justin appears, the point of view is taken for granted.

The Fourth Gospel belongs to this stream of social attitudes. As in the case of the apologies, it appropriates such of Jewish lore as it finds valuable; its purpose is to prove that Jesus is the Anointed. But, also as in the Apologies, it represents the superiority of its own point of view, and does this at the expense of its opponent. It pictures Jesus as superior to his opposition; although the attempt is made to inspect his work and to control his activity, he is unmoved by it. He achieves success in spite of opposition; adherents come to him from several groups of the party of the opposition. But he makes no serious attempt to win a response from Jews; even to those who volunteer he takes a repellent attitude. It is when the Greeks come to him that his hour has arrived, and at this point the Gospel inserts as its peculiar value the long discourse whose central theme is the guidance of the new community. The closing prayer is inclusive in its outlook, not only of the disciple band, but of those who believe through their word. The Fourth Gospel's positive message is for the guidance of its community. Its negative teaching is the distinction of the community from "the Jews" and its

[17] Cf. J. N. Reagan, *The Preaching of Peter; the Beginning of Christian Apologetic.*

[18] Goodspeed, *Die Ältesten Apologeten*, pp. 2–23.

spiritual values from theirs, e.g., their customs and "your law."

The consciousness of difference and the perception that the new movement has its future in an independent realm are the causes of the advanced status of the traditions of the Fourth Gospel. Nothing can be more apparent than that the relations alleged between Jesus and the Pharisees did not obtain in his experiences, but belong to those of the Christian community in which the work was written. If the frequent distinction, put into the mouth of Jesus, of "your law" does not make this clear, surely the astounding trend of Jesus' discourse to his erstwhile disciples, in which they are called sons of the devil and are forced to realign themselves with "the Jews" is sufficient. The leadership represented by the writer of the Fourth Gospel clearly does not expect that the synagogue and the church shall ever come together. It is content to have the lines between them drawn ever more clearly. It has for its hope the cultivation of non-Jews, and among them the development of a new religious movement.

It is toward this purpose that it orders its writing, largely recasting the story as compared with other forms. So far has the movement come on what is conceived to be its proper course that the narrative of Jesus is sketched as in fully independent relation with what perspective shows to have been the actual background. Nevertheless the work introduces its peculiar interests into the life of Jesus: an objective attitude toward Jews as well as toward their culture, customs, and institutions, the proleptic introduction of non-Jews into the experiences of Jesus, and, quite extensively, the consciousness of the new community. All these interests are ordered upon the basis of a point of view which is expressed in a prologue in which appears not only the antithesis between law and favor, but what may be regarded as the central theme: Jesus

came to his own, but his own did not receive him; yet, to any (others) who did receive him by believing, he gave authority to become God's children, without distinction of birth or blood.

That the status of tradition has advanced to the point reached in the literature of defense may further be shown by comparing the point of view of the Fourth Gospel with the earlier stages known to have obtained in the communities of the Aegean Basin. It was here that Paul had labored for a time much longer than was usual with him. It was here, if anywhere, that communities were established which might fairly be called Pauline. The Pauline viewpoint was maintained without such vehement polemic as was exhibited in connection with his Galatian and Syrian efforts; it seems to have been established by the force of positive and sustained effort.

To be sure, Acts represents constant opposition in these communities between Paul and Jewish opponents, but whatever may have been the facts in this case, it is significant that polemic is not present in the Pauline letters to these churches in anything like the degree to which it occurs in Galatians. In the formative period, as is shown by such letters as those to Thessalonica and Corinth, Paul's objectives were gained by aggressive cultivation. They do not seem to be periled by Jewish opposition or persecution. It is possible to draw from them the picture of the persistent evangelization of these several communities, in which task Paul's adaptation of his faith to the pattern of the Hellenistic cults is obvious. What obtained in this early period was a basis of anti-Jewish attitudes, but at this time the basis was not articulated.

But when the movement grew sufficiently to come to the attention of others it was naturally forced to meet with competition. Judaism inevitably assumed its part. Thus, in such

Pauline letters as Philippians and Colossians there is a sharpening of the issue, and the lines between Christianity and Judaism are drawn. If the Ephesian letter is pseudonymous, representing the work of a community in collecting and publishing the Pauline letters, it was late enough that its data are the closer to those of Revelation, Luke-Acts, and the Fourth Gospel, and are thus the more significant. In any case it is important that in this source appears not only rather sharp anti-Jewish polemic, but the plea for the unity of the Christian movement. This is in clear correlation with the interest in the rising sects which appears in the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of John.

Yet the basis of anti-Jewish tradition was not articulated by Paul. It was inevitable that if the basis in attitudes remained, its articulation should come; but even though Paul could adapt his faith to the pattern of the salvation cults, he was inhibited by his Jewish birth from taking even so simple and inevitable a step. Pauline Christianity was implicitly non-nationalistic and un-Jewish, but Paul does not seem to have regarded it as explicitly anti-Jewish. Even though it was so to a degree in fact, he does not appear to have been entirely conscious of it or to have been willing to make it so in name.

The logic of his position was stated by his followers. Marcion was of course extreme, but the position of not a few communities was not far from him, save that they did not tamper with so precious a value as the writings after these had become regarded as Scripture. The breach between Christians and Jews was complete when Revelation could use its epithets, when Luke-Acts could issue a defensive history, and when the Fourth Gospel could divorce Jesus from the facts of his life.

It is but a step to the production of the literature of de-

fense, since of this, after the differing customs of the rival groups are noted, the next matter is the consciousness of the difference. Beyond this is merely the routine task of generalizing the specific points of differentiation, and the assembly of reasons for the practice of the group customs. It is instructive in this respect to note the difference between the formal defenses and such writings as the Pauline letters at this point. The defenses ring the changes on such matters as circumcision, the Sabbath, the customs of purification, the dietary laws, and the law in general. Now, these are the points touched by Paul also, but the manner is quite different in the two cases; Paul meets the problems as problems of life, while the apologist meets matters of theory. He does not treat them as pressing problems of a practical nature, but offers a series of arguments to defend the Christian dissent. It is significant that his arguments are so largely scriptural, that is to say, on the basis of an intellectual formulation.

The defenses are in another matter but a step beyond the point of view of the writings of the Domitianic period, namely, in what they expect to accomplish. It is not apparent that they advance their arguments for the purpose of convincing or converting Jews to their point of view. Indeed, their arguments suggest the straw man set up merely to be knocked down. Their purpose is the strengthening of the position of their own group. Their arguments are for home consumption. It requires but little investigation to perceive that this is also the case with Luke-Acts and the Fourth Gospel. It is this which explains Jesus' austerity in his relations with disciples gained from Jews; the suggestion is of one who does not expect a response from them. Jews may safely be pictured as consistently inimical to Jesus; friendship need not be cultivated. The new movement tends to diverge from the old, and reconciliation is not anticipated. Rather, as in-

dependent of the old, the adherents of the new movement need to be confirmed in their particular point of view, and to this end the works subtly furnish them with the necessary attitudes and sanctions.

The chief examples of the literature of defense had their rise in the communities of the Aegean Basin. To be sure, it is likely that the *Preaching of Peter*, which marks the beginning of Christian apologetic, was written in Alexandria, but the flourishing of the type was in Greece and Asia Minor. Here Quadratus wrote, as did also Aristides. Nothing may be said of Quadratus in this connection, since almost nothing is known of his production. Aristides' main purpose was the defense of Christianity with reference to political matters, but, as was noted, he includes a certain amount of anti-Jewish polemic. But in the case of Justin, although he wrote in Rome, a vital connection with Asia Minor is formed, since he was resident and taught there. The Aegean provenance of this literature is not accidental, since the intellectual status which was prerequisite was achieved first in this locality. The correlation between the New Testament writings in which apologetic appears and the typical apologies is thus a datum of importance.

It may therefore be concluded that the advance of tradition in the communities of the Aegean Basin was such that the articulation of the implicit Pauline attitude was accompanied by factors in the local situations, factors which carried the Christian movement far in advance of the positions which obtained in other representative localities. Christians were here in relation with numerous cults in a general situation in which Judaism was but one element. Christianity's growth was conditioned by environmental situations in which its character was shaped by relation to various competing faiths. It might therefore emerge as a movement

possessing individuality gained from an unusual adaptability. A factor of great force in the Aegean environment was the intellectual background of the Greek cities; this brought about an early formulation of the intellectual values of the new movement. In short, it was the particular situations in which the Christian groups of the Aegean Basin found themselves that led to the remarkable development of the Christian movement in these localities. So potent were these situations that the unusual character of Christianity here is to be noted at an early date. Its exceptional power here was so consistently maintained that these communities long continued to be of dominant influence.

PART III
GENERALIZATION

JESUS, THE PHARISEES, AND THE TRADITION

IT REQUIRES but a canvass of the sources to perceive that the portrait of the Pharisees in the Gospels is inconsistent, incomplete, and incorrect. To correct the errors of this portrait, to fill the points at which it is not complete, and to make it consistent with these and with other sources requires the study of the Pharisees as they are pictured not only by their opponents but by their associates and friends. Correction has been attempted by Jewish and by Christian scholars, with such success that no one would assume a familiarity with the Pharisees apart from the work of, for example, Herford, Montefiore, Abrahams, and Moore.

The present study, however, addressed itself to a different purpose. It is obvious, since a first-hand acquaintance with the portrait of the Pharisees as it appears in the Pharisaic sources demands a command of critical processes and results which is possessed only by the few, that the many who have an interest in the Pharisees will obtain their impressions from the Christian sources. Even here, without an orientation into the stream of Christian experiences and a perception of the rise of Christian traditions from these experiences, the commonly accepted view of the Pharisees will continue to dominate. It may be hoped that some, at least, who approach the Pharisees through the Christian sources, may have available a method and a point of view which will not only make it

possible to correct the Gospel portrait of the Pharisees, but will in addition make the Christian sources intelligible to the point where they may be used to contribute to the final synthesis.

It is clear that the many who obtain the usual view of the Pharisees from the Gospel sources read the Gospels from an uncritical and a harmonistic point of view. Failing to attend to the contradictions and the inconsistencies of the sources, they not unnaturally adopt the evaluation which apparently controlled the Gospel writers, and which is alleged to have been that of Jesus. Such readers conclude that the Pharisees, being what the Gospels represent, were quite properly opposed by Jesus, who stands over against them as their effective opposite. If it be pointed out that a logical difficulty emerges, that the Jewish background and inheritance of Jesus are thereby made unintelligible, this is obviated by assuming that Judaism was decadent in Pharisaism, while it recovered its noblest prophetic traditions in Jesus.

But this simple expedient fails to solve the central problem, for the adequate understanding of Judaism which is one of the achievements of modern scholarship conclusively demonstrates that the commonly assumed estimate of Judaism cannot be maintained. The modern understanding of Judaism increases the difficulty of the problem, for it shows, not decadence, but vitality to have characterized the Judaism which was contemporary with Jesus. As a result, the disparity between the Pharisees as they are pictured in the Gospels and the corrected portrait of modern scholarship is the more apparent.

Indeed, the modern discussion of late Judaism at once assists in resolving the problems of the life of Jesus and widens the gap between Christian and Jewish evaluations of the Pharisees. As Jesus' environment is better known and as it

is possible on the basis of adequate knowledge to describe him as he appears before such a background, there emerges a picture which is both intelligible and satisfying. By such a procedure Jesus is seen to have been a Jewish religious leader who appears in the most lifelike manner, living, working, and teaching. The Jewish manner of his life, the Jewish quality of his teaching, and the specific events of his life thus fall quite properly into relation. As the facts are pursued to the point of their sources, it appears that so far from dissenting from the standards and values of late Judaism, Jesus affirmed them, and from them developed his particular contributions. In such a situation the contradiction between the conclusions of scholarship and the commonly held point of view toward Jewish leaders becomes even more a problem.

Modern scholarship has made it possible to know the Pharisees in their history immediately antedating Jesus, in their rise and flourishing, and in their accomplishments in the preservation of the spiritual values of Judaism as the Jewish people were harassed by an unfriendly political environment. They are shown in their essential characteristics as pious, spiritually minded persons whose main purpose in life was to increase the degree to which God's teaching was practiced in the lives of his people. Their mode of attaining this purpose was the organization of life as custom and law, and the identification of their law as the law of God. They sought to learn God's will, to understand this will in relation to the Scripture which all highly valued, and thus to make an ancient Scripture effective for their own day. It is seen that their spiritual ideal was central; they pointed the minds of their fellows away from politics and toward God. To them no wealth nor gain was comparable to the enrichment which came from the utter devotion of a man to God's Teaching. The Pharisee is known—not the type merely, but

the hero who died rather than forsake his way of life, the teacher, who generalized the way of life, and the common man who lived it. With these, too, is known the ostentatious, insincere, arrogant Pharisee, who in their literature was rebuked as the others were celebrated.

Modern scholarship has not merely made the Pharisee known, but it has evaluated him. His achievements are noted, and due credit given. The preservation of an ancient literature, its supplement by original composition, and the production of the corpus of interpretative literature are seen to be valuable results of his effort. The crystallization of the current Jewish manner of life is another. The appropriation and development of the synagogue are credited to him. The firm maintenance of customs and practices in an unfriendly world is immensely instructive from every point of view. The raising of the question of value is plainly discernible in the modern rehabilitation of the Pharisees, and in this as in other features there is an evident difference between what is found to have been their character and that which is suggested by the Christian sources.

It therefore remains as a desideratum that there be applied a method which not only discovers the gulf between the commonly accepted and the corrected portraits, but which causes the Christian traditions to take their place in the processes which operated in those complex situations of which Judaism and early Christianity were parts. It is necessary not only to know the Pharisees as they were, and Jesus as he was, but to determine the relations of Jesus, the Pharisees, and the tradition.

It is readily seen that the traditions did not have the origin and the development which were those of Jesus. His Jewishness is steadily becoming more apparent; it was indeed Palestinian in its geographical, cultural, and traditional as-

pects. But the traditions owe their origins to movements which were much more inclusive. Their earliest reflection in literature takes into account such matters as formulation in Rome, a date of the seventh decade, the Greek linguistic medium, and a host of such data as are subsumed by these facts, e.g., the self-conscious direction of an independent movement, the spread of the cult throughout the Levant, the development of distinctive practices, and the like.

The traditions, as parts of the Christian movement as a whole, were produced and modified by particular necessities of various places in which Christianity was current. They were formulated in the many centers where they are found. They had their rise at different times. As a matter of fact their variety is natural; it is easy to understand the inconsistencies and the contradictions which they exhibit in relation to each other if the traditions are regarded as the products of various times and places.

The appeal to the Palestinian background of the experience of Jesus to understand his life is a methodology whose validity is unquestionable.[1] Similarly, to appeal to the extra-Palestinian locale as the theater of the experiences of Jesus' followers should be recognized as of equal propriety. If so, it is of important consequence that the rise of the traditions about the Pharisees came as a result of the contacts of Christians and Jews. It cannot have been without importance that before the earliest reflection of the traditions in literature occurred, groups of the disciples had sprung up in centers far removed from the places of Jesus' activity. In such a center, according to an ancient tradition, the new movement had been made available to Greeks, and here the disciples were for the first time known by a distinctive name. Paul's mo-

[1] Cf. the application of this methodology in Case, *Jesus: A New Biography*.

mentous experience had changed the outlook of his life, and he had become an exponent of the way of life which he had formerly opposed by force. Leaders had aggressively planted the good news in far-flung cities, in which little communities had sprung up which identified Jesus as Lord and regarded him as savior. Their adherents were chiefly non-Jewish of race, and in their meetings they spoke in the Greek tongue.

Clearly, such factors as these involved social attitudes. One of the most notable of all the phenomena of the ancient world was the rise, through the breakdown of the city-state, of the attitude of individualism, which was the more usual counterpart of the cosmopolitanism which Alexander and his followers attempted to make current. As peoples from widely separated localities met and merged in the city centers in which Christianity presently undertook its propaganda, the response to the religious quest naturally was shaped in the interest of the personal salvation of the individual. It is not at all difficult to recognize the implication of this for Christianity's non-racial appeal. Nor is it difficult to add other examples which demonstrate the formulation of Christian social attitudes.

The difference between the Christian and other gentile organizations of social customs and those which by long standing had become familiar in Judaism was plainly perceptible to a contemporary. It was obvious to the Roman administrative officers, for example, that Jews were a notable exception to the breakdown of nationalism in the Graeco-Roman world. It was equally apparent to a religious leader that there was a contrast between Judaism and gentile cults at the same point; Judaism resisted the individualistic quest for salvation by maintaining its group requirements. It was still necessary for one to join the Jewish race to become a member of the Jewish religious group, and the unwavering

maintenance of this requirement was a stark contradiction of religious adaptability which was clearly recognized.

It was chiefly such a matter as this which led to the differentiation of Christianity from Judaism. As it became apparent that Christianity's future lay in the gentile world, the adjustment which was necessary to meet the situation was at hand in Christianity's adaptability. The beginning of this process seems to have been made early; it may be inferred with a high degree of probability that the beginning antedates the appearance of Paul. But since the experience of Paul admitted so ready a generalization on this line, and since in Paul's background there was already a basis for the appreciation of gentile culture, after his experience had become generalized the articulation of the Christian propaganda along non-Jewish lines went on apace.

At an early date, therefore, the Christian message had met with response in many non-Jewish communities. Doubtless in those which were less dominated by Paul there were Jewish and non-Jewish features in several degrees of variability; the use of the Greek language is an example of the one; the use of the Scripture (doubtless in Greek translation) is an example of the other. But whether the communities were Pauline or non-Pauline, the gentile character of Christianity presently was primary.

Probably the trend advanced from the mere consciousness of difference from Judaism to the position of anti-Jewish polemic first in the Pauline localities. It was thus because the generalization of Paul's experience into a typical evangelical pattern was at least implicitly un-Jewish. It lent itself readily to the individualism which was common among Gentiles, but rare among Jews. Since it had meant for Paul a transfer of loyalties, the experience might not so much as be recounted without suggesting an evaluation. It was not long

until it was apparent to Jewish leaders that the response to Paul's urging of his experience and to the preaching of non-Pauline leaders had the practical effect of developing among the Christians an un-Jewish manner of life.

As a matter of fact, Jewish social customs, one by one, were subjected to attack either by Paul or by those who were consciously or unconsciously acting upon the implications of his position. The racial question was early discussed, since the individualism of Christianity, particularly of the Pauline emphasis, opened the way of entry into the cult life for many of all races and nations. But other Jewish customs were quite as negatively regarded. The dietary laws, which were kept with greater or less strictness, marked the Jew as peculiar. So, also, his custom of refraining from labor on the seventh day. In matters more particularly religious, such as the non-use of images in worship, difference from Jewish practice was plain. In every such case the point at issue was a social custom, and in the contact of social attitudes the perception of difference is highly important.

It is quite clear that in the communities in which the group life was distinctive, such as in Antioch, the Christians developed an un-Jewish way of life. Whatever be one's opinion of the relation between the Christian and the Hellenistic cult patterns, it is hardly debatable that the general character of the Christian cult was gentile, at least in the features of customs and group behavior. It may indeed be true that in matters of thought and teaching the relation with Judaism, at least with particular groups, was closer.

The contrast between the Christian and the Jewish ways of life was doubtless not explicitly noted in the formative period of Christian expansion. But when the numerical proportion become significant, or where influence was considerable, the difference was noted and drawn to attention. In

such situations, as the Christian groups continued to increase in power and influence, the progression from un-Jewish to anti-Jewish attitudes is not difficult to picture, especially since there is witness to several phases of the process in the New Testament sources.

It is urged that the traditions of Jesus and the Pharisees actually represent the several stages in this process which are thus indirectly reflected in the New Testament. Even as one may confidently affirm that there is no possible place in the experiences of Jesus for the conflicts with the Pharisees to have occurred as they are described, it is possible, once attention is directed to the Christian movement, to find exactly the places in the experiences of the Christian leaders and groups for just those conflicts to have taken place. Furthermore, as attention is focused upon the Christian communities, it is possible also to perceive how the attitudes which were developed in relation to contemporary Jews might have been read back into the experience of Jesus. This secured for them a sanction whose effect might by no other means have been so great.

The necessities of the early Christians were the poles about which the alleged teachings of Jesus grouped themselves. As one views the development of the Christian way of life it becomes possible to see how the teachings of Jesus took shape in relation to these necessities. Doubtless it will be regarded as daring to suggest that in the development of the Gospel teachings the needs of the communities operated as the causes of the production of the materials; but this is what is suggested as the result of such an investigation as the present one. The traditions of Jesus and the Pharisees represent the attitudes developed in various sections of Christianity at different times in its growth, the attitudes given effective

sanction by being represented as part of the experiences of Jesus and teachings which came from his contacts.

It is urged that no other mode of regarding them does justice to all the facts. It is not difficult to demonstrate that the Gospel portrait of the Pharisees is incorrect. Nor is it impossible, on the basis of these and Jewish sources, to correct the Gospel portrait of the Pharisees. But to take the Gospels as they are forces the recognition that between them and the true portrait there is a contradiction soluble only as their several data are referred, not to Jesus, but to the various stages and places of emerging Christianity.

On the other hand, the application of social-historical method realizes all the possibilities of the situation. It assumes the utilization of all sources to learn who were the Pharisees and for what they labored. It applies scientific methods to the limit of their effectiveness to the study of Jesus. It makes every effort correctly to describe the life of the early Christians. And, as it refers to the Christians many of the teachings which have formerly been regarded as sayings of Jesus, they in no sense lose their value, much less their relevance.

As, then, the Pharisees are known by modern scholarship, and as modern scholarship understands Jesus, the piety of the Pharisees and the Jewishness of Jesus are found to be friendly rather than antipathetic. It is possible to witness Jesus living his life within the environment of first-century Judaism, and in fact depending upon his background for much of his greatness. It is possible, with equal confidence, to witness the extension of Christianity, as the cult of Jesus' followers, into non-Jewish localities, and to see it in non-Jewish situations developing un-Jewish habits and customs. Indeed, it is possible to witness the shading over of their attitudes from un-Jewish to anti-Jewish positions. It is con-

sistent with what is known of the psychology of religious groups to find Christians, in Rome, for example, developing customs which not only differed from those of their Jewish neighbors, but of which the difference was consciously held and mentioned by contrast. Their non-observance of dietary distinctions, or their failure to rest upon the seventh day, was important for them; they found it to be of value not only to emphasize the difference, but to secure backing for their position by articulating their attitudes as having been taught by Jesus. In this way it is not a strain upon the imagination to understand the Antiochean Gospel's use of the epithet "hypocrite" to designate those who differed from its ideal. Finally, when the rival movements were in a relationship which brought from each a literature of defense, the outcome is clear. The traditions of Jesus and the Pharisees, when taken as produced by the necessities of the Christian communities, become at once understandable in themselves and useful in the delineation of the life of the early Christians.

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